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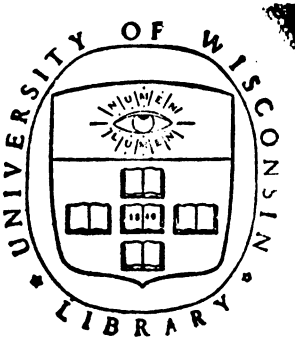

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THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN AND THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

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THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN

AND

THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

BY

G. MOTT WILLIAMS, D.D.

Bishop of Marquette, Member of the Anglo-Swedish Commission of the Lambeth Conference of 1899

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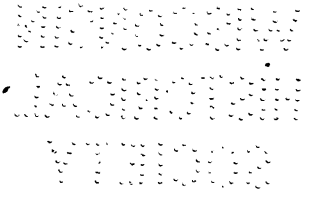

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INTRODUCTION

The following papers are submitted to the Episcopate and others, as evidence bearing upon the Form, Intention, and Continuance of Holy Orders in the Swedish National Church. Opinions heretofore published seem to have been based upon one or another of the various forms, and never upon them all. I have tried to make all the actually material evidence accessible in fair English, having more regard, however, to accuracy than to elegance, and feeling that a double rendering of a phrase or word here or there would be no loss, if both renderings were fair. The Lambeth Commission which has visited Sweden may conclude its labors by a Report to the Archbishop of Canterbury within the near future. But as the Swedish Church has only just appointed a Standing Commission on the subject, it may be presumed that the Commission may continue in activity for some time to come, and report to the Lambeth Conference proposed for 1918.

Recent published letters having called attention to Roman concessions of Swedish Orders, it may perhaps be stated here that too much emphasis cannot be laid on these concessions by certain Bishops and theologians. Nor, as Anglicans, can we defer much to what Rome or Romanists have said of Swedish Orders, considering what they have said about ours. We have more actual evidence now before us than any one else ever had; the reader of these papers may be said to have more. With regard to Greek recognition, all that can now be definitely said is, that as long as the Swedish episcopate was maintained unimpaired in Finland, Russia sent none there. She was prompt to establish one when the Swedish line failed. This, if not Recognition, is Respect. It is hoped we can at least begin with Respect.

It may further be conceded to the opponents of Swedish Orders

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that the Schmalkald Articles are even more unsatisfactory than has been stated by Dr. Percival and others, and go the length of pronouncing as valid, Orders conferred by a parish clergyman in his own congregation. But the fact remains that these Articles had never such authority in Sweden that they could negative Sweden's own explicit law.

A good and consecutive history is lacking, but it is yet two early to write it, and facts are being constantly accumulated and put in pamphlet form with careful indexes by Dean Lundström and his collaborators which will make such a complete work feasible in a very short time. Were the form of my work more literary it might be less valuable for forming the judgment.

My thanks are specially due to the Rev. Peter A. Almquist for a month of his time lent me, and for invaluable information

The Rev. J. G. Hammarsköld has also been most cordially helpful; and I owe much to the correspondence and publications of Prof. Francis J. Hall, D.D.

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THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN AND THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

I.—Successive Forms of Episcopal Consecration in the Church of Sweden. Forms Prior to 1571.

THE Roman Pontifical was used at the consecration of *Petrus Magni* to the see of Westerås. This took place in Rome, May 1, 1524. *Petrus Magni* consecrated *seven* other Bishops on *three* occasions.

Three were consecrated in Strengnäs Cathedral January 5, 1528. There was no papal confirmation, but old forms were used, unction included.

Three others were consecrated in Stockholm in August, 1531, supposedly the 13th, and in September (22nd) of the same year *Petrus Magni* consecrated as Archbishop *Laurentius Petri*. The precise forms are not known, but there is testimony of importance that cope, staff, mitre, and unction were used.

Laurentius Petri was Archbishop for forty-two years. Gustavus Vasa tried hard to break down the Episcopate before he died, as several of the Bishops consecrated in his time gave up their sees and went into exile on account of their opposition to either the reformation or the King's Erastianism. A good many clergy were appointed *ordinarii* by the King, many to small divisions of the ancient sees. Some of these were probably never consecrated. But *Laurentius Petri, Bothvid Sunonis, Nicholas Canuti, Paulus Juusten* and probably other valid Bishops survived the King, and the danger was past.

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If the old ceremonies were ever even in part laid aside, as there is some doubt about unction, they were restored under King John and in use down to Upsala Möte.

The old Archbishop published his *Kyrko-Ordning* in 1571. It was adopted by a Diet at Upsala in 1572. Very elaborate additional ceremonies came in in 1575 and lasted nearly 20 years. Then, in 1593, a return was made to the forms of the *Kyrko-Ordning* and they were used for over 90 years. The rubrics are not regarded as exhaustively descriptive, and, while mitre and staff are there not mentioned, they were, according to tradition, always, or almost always, used.

Preceding the service of consecration, which is called *"The Way to ordain a Bishop-elect,"* there is a very long description of the history, character, and duties of the episcopal office. I give as large a portion as is material. There is no statement of three orders.

[Kyrko-ordning of 1571. LXXV.]

"THE ORDER CONCERNING BISHOPS, WHO IN LATIN ARE CALLED *Superattendentes, Ordinarii,* OR *Ordinatores.*"

"*Episcopus* or *Superattendens* means, in Swedish, an overseer (*Tilsynesman*), and each and every priest was so called in the Scriptures, because it behooved him to have superintendence or oversight over them who were under his authority so that it might go well and Christianly with them.

"Thus, St. Paul says, Take heed to yourselves and all the flock over which the Holy Ghost has set you as Bishops, that is, Overseers. For there was not at the first in Christendom the difference which now exists between Bishops and simple priests, but Bishop and priest was all the same office, as is sufficiently seen in many places in St. Paul's writings. But it was not allowed to be long before this difference was made, so that those who had not more than one congregation under their care kept the name of priests, but those who received authority over several congregations with their pastors took then the name of Bishops.

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"And this (as St. Jerome writes) was the cause of this ordinance: That when Christendom began to increase and spread out, so that there were several congregations in one city, each with its own Bishop or parish priest, it so happened (as it is apt to do on such occasion) that among these Bishops or parish priests arose discord and strife, and it amounted to a deadly ill in these same Christian congregations. Then that such a grief should be quieted and subdued, these troubled congregations with their Bishops and pastors agreed that one Bishop should be chosen among them, who should have oversight over all the others and the right to govern and ordain both with priests and their congregations, that all might go on better and more harmoniously. And those who were thus chosen kept the name of Bishop, but the others held to the name presbyter, priest," etc.

"Therefore as this was a highly useful ordinance, and proceeded without doubt from God the Holy Ghost, who giveth all good gifts, so likewise it became throughout all Christendom *universally received, has been accepted ever since, and must remain as long as the world stands.* . . . It belongs to the Bishop's office that he shall in his diocese ordain and govern both with the priests and whatever else is required, as St. Paul writes to Titus whom he had sent to Crete to be such an *Overseer*. For this cause, he says, I left thee in Crete, that thou mightest provide for what is lacking, and occupy the cities here and there with priests, etc. And therefore they called a Bishop *Ordinarius* or *Ordinator*, which means, in Swedish, a Sender or Ordainer. Regarding this order with priests, St. Paul writes to Timothy, Lay hands suddenly on no man," etc.

[Kyrko-ordning, 1571. LXXVIII.]

"OF THE ELECTION OF BISHOPS."

" . . . When those come together whose duty it is, let them vote as the custom is, and he who has the most votes be named thereto. If the votes fall equally let them choose by lot and immediately send to the government to confirm the elect. When he is thus approved, confirmed, and with open letters set in the diocese, he shall be publicly ordained by some other Bishop or Bishops in

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the Cathedral or some other convenient church, by the laying on of hands."

"THE WAY TO ORDAIN A BISHOP-ELECT.

"¶ *On some Sunday or other Holy Day before the Mass begins, the Bishop to be ordained (Ordinandus Episcopus) comes before the altar in surplice and cope, and with him two priests of the diocese to which he is to be ordained, who also may wear surplices and copes. Then the Ordainer, who stands at the altar clad in surplice and cope, may deliver to the people there assembled a short exhortation to prayer, in this form:*

"Dear friends, let us pray Almighty God our Heavenly Father for all our necessities, and especially that He will grant to this person now before you, who is chosen to the Bishop's office, His holy grace, that he may so execute this office that it may be pleasing to God, and helpful and fruitful to the people entrusted to his care.

"¶ *And immediately after this, Ordinator, Ordinandus, and all present fall on their knees, and two little choristers sing the litany, and this being ended, the Ordinator says or sings the following collect:*

"¶ Let us pray.

"Lord God, Heavenly Father, Thou who knowest us to be set in the midst of so many and great dangers," etc.

"¶ *And then he reads or sings the second collect for Teachers:*

"O Almighty and Everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who Himself has commanded that we should pray for laborers in Thy harvest, that is for faithful preachers; we pray Thee therefore that of Thy boundless mercy Thou wouldest send us true teachers. Give them in their hearts and mouths Thy holy and healthful word, so that they may teach rightly and without error, and faithfully execute all Thy commands; so that we, being rightly instructed and admonished by Thy Holy Word, may do what is pleasing to Thee and profitable to us. Give us, Lord, Thy Holy Spirit and Wisdom, that Thy Word may always remain with us, grow and bear fruit. And that Thy servants may, as behooves them, speak the word with all freedom, that Thy Holy Christian Church may be thereby bettered,

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serve Thee in steadfast faith and continue in Thy knowledge, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"¶ *Thereafter the Ordainer causes to be read the words of St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy:* This is a faithful saying, If any one desires the office of a Bishop . . . lest he fall into reproach and the snare of the devil.

"¶ *And also this Gospel, which St. Luke writes* (St. Luke 12), *thus:* Who then is a faithful and wise servant, etc., . . . of him shall much be required.

"¶ *And then he makes a brief exposition in this form:*

"In these words, our dear Lord Jesus Christ clearly tells us, first, that they who are called to such an office as the Bishop's, have a commission from God, not over a few small things, but over God's people and servants; yea, those whom He hath purchased and redeemed with His own blood, that they should bestow upon them what is proper for their need. That is, that they should care for them with the words of eternal life, through which they can have quickening and strength.

"Next, we hear that God requires of them two things; the one is competence and understanding. Competence will make them diligent, understanding will show how they ought to carry out their commission.

"For the third, we hear what reward is promised them, when they exercise their office well, namely that they shall have power over all that belongs to our Lord Jesus Christ.

"On the other hand we hear what awaits them if they behave otherwise than they should in this office, namely an eternal punishment with all unfaithful servants. Therefore, these words of our Lord Jesus Christ should always lie upon our hearts, and stir us up that we should not behave ourselves neglectfully or securely in this office, but that we may always show ourselves to be wise and faithful servants.

"All which, if you now with God's help will do, answer, 'Yes.'

"¶ *To which he immediately answers:*

"Yes.

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"Wilt thou in the name of God the Holy Trinity take up this service and Bishop's office?

"¶ *To which he shall answer with a clear voice:*

"Yes.

"Wilt thou endeavor that all may go on rightly and worthily to the glory of God and the good of the Church?

"¶ *Respondetur:*

"Yes.

"Wilt thou steadfastly continue in God's sure word, and fly from all false and heretical doctrine?

"¶ *Respondetur:*

"Yes.

"Wilt thou also so order thy life as to give a good example and no cause of scandal?

"¶ *Respondetur:*

"Yes.

"Wilt thou always seek the public peace, and labor for loyal obedience to all due authority, as much as lieth in thee?

"¶ *Respondetur:*

"Yes.

"¶ *When he has assented to all this, and promised that he will so do, the Ordainer says to him,* Confess thy faith.

"¶ *He immediately begins to repeat the Articles of the Creed, saying:*

"I believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible, etc.

"¶ *Hereupon the Ordainer says to him:*

"To this, and to all good, may the Lord God strengthen and comfort thee. Amen.

"¶ *Thereafter the whole choir sings the Responsium, Sint lumbi vestri praecincti, etc. And when this is ended, the Ordainer with the other Bishops who are present lay their hands on the head of Ordinandi, the Ordinator first saying,* 'Let us pray':

"¶ *And then he adds the prayer which is found in Ordinationes Presbitterorum, and thus begins:*

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"O Everlasting and Merciful God, dear Heavenly Father who, through the mouth of Thy dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, hast taught us 'The harvest is great, but the laborers are few. Pray, therefore, the Lord of the harvest that He would send laborers into His harvest.' With which words He gives us to understand, that we cannot elsewhere receive orthodox and faithful teachers than of Thy gentle hand. We, therefore, beseech Thee heartily, that Thou wouldest mercifully look upon this Thy servant whom we have chosen and taken to this service and Bishop's office, giving him Thy Holy Spirit, that he may truly and powerfully carry out Thy holy work, teach and rebuke with all meekness and wisdom. So that Thy holy gospel may always remain among us pure and without falsehood, and bear us the fruit of salvation and eternal life. Through Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"¶ *Thereafter the choir sings for the Introit,* Now pray we the Holy Ghost, etc. *And afterward they complete the Mass, where he who is ordained first among others shall communicate.*"

Comment. This service shows the irreducible minimum of the form of consecration in the Swedish Church. It was adopted twenty-two years before the Augsburg Confession was assented to, and continued in force ninety-three years afterwards. The final prayer is not given fully in my copy of the *Kyrko-Ordning,* but I have supplied it from Bishop Laurelius' book of about 1640. His book included various proposed changes in the *Kyrko-Ordning,* but the ordinal remained exactly the same.

It is worth noting that the Epistle is the same as that in the "Forme of Consecrating of an Archbishop or Bishop" in the Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI. Like that service, it is combined with the Litany and the Holy Communion, and there is a rubric in both that the Bishop ordained shall communicate.

There is no special reference in the office in either case

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to the administration of the sacraments. But I may add another extract from the very long preface from which I have before made quotations:

"So also, a Bishop shall have oversight over all who are under his authority, especially with the clergy, that they may rightly and harmoniously take God's word among the people, rightly administer the sacraments," etc. So the Swedish office is more explicit than the English one, at a nearly parallel date.

There are no translations involving technical questions except that where *"församling"* clearly means the whole Church and not a particular one, I have so rendered it.

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II.—Successive Forms of Episcopal Consecration in the Church of Sweden. The Ordinal of 1686.

IN 1686 there were very material changes made in the Church law, in the *Kyrko-ordning,* and some additions to the Confession of Faith. Queen Christina had lately become a Roman Catholic, the Calvinists had caused trouble, and the Church and Kingdom looked more than ever to Lutheranism as a support. The Lutheran Symbolic books, Book of Concord, Smalkald Articles, etc., were hence added to the formularies *as a commentary, "såsom förklåring."*

The *Kyrko-ordning* does not contain the full services used. It merely describes them (*see Chapter* 21 of the *Kyrko-lag*) in a general way. The whole service however has been preserved and can be found in Baelter's book, *Historical Observations About Church Ceremonies.* The edition of 1838 is common and most useful, but it is easier to use the older editions for the sake of positive clearness. I have one published in 1762, contemporary with the service we are seeking, as no changes were further made until 1809-11. Baelter's description is probably a somewhat abbreviated one. I begin on page 972:

"1. On some Sunday or other holy day when the Bishop's ordination (*vigning*) shall occur, a prayer fitted for the occasion is read from the pulpit.

"2. After divine service is ended a psalm (hymn) is sung during which two deans (*prostar*) in chasubles, begin the procession, followed by the new Bishop in a surplice, with the Archbishop as

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Ordinator and three or four Bishops as assistants, who all are wearing copes. One of the deans carries the new Bishop's cope, and lays it on a chair before him.

"3. The Archbishop reminds the people what a great mercy and benefit it is from God, that He should send faithful teachers in His Church, and watchful overseers over others; which address is suitable for the person called and presented to the Bishop's office, during prayer and supplication, that he may execute his weighty office to the glory of God and the good of the diocese.

"4. All kneel while the Archbishop reads the first prayer next after the Litany: 'O Lord God Almighty, who despisest not the sighing of the poor,' etc. But in former times the third prayer in order was used, 'O Lord God, Heavenly Father, Thou who knowest that we, in so much great danger, for our human weakness, can not remain standing,' etc. Further prayer is continued thus: 'O Almighty and Everlasting God,' etc. (as in 1571).

"5. After this prayer is ended and all have risen, the new Bishop is called up before the altar by the eldest assistant with these words: *'Accedat Reverendissimus Dominus N. N. ad Altare Domini.'*

"6. Then the Archbishop addresses him in these words: 'Since thou art called to this service which is the Bishop's Office, listen first and give heed to these words which Jesus Christ's apostle, St. Paul, has written about the same service and office.

"7. Then all four assistants read a portion of scripture, the first I. St. Tim. 3: 1, up to and including 7; the second Titus 1: 7, 8, 9; the third, Acts 20: 28, 29, 30, 31; and the fourth, II. St. Tim. 5: 1-5.

"8. Thereupon the Archbishop adds this reminder: 'Here we learn that to us who are called to be shepherds and Bishops, is committed a watch and ward, not over irrational beasts, cattle, or sheep, but over the Church of the Living God, which He had purchased with His own blood, that we should govern and feed it with God's pure word, and take diligent heed, that wolves, that is, false teachers, come not in and do mischief. Therefore He calls it a good and glorious work. So also it is commanded that we for our own part should

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lead a virtuous and honest life, and keep our homes, wives, and children honestly and Christianly.'

"9. Afterward the new Bishop's commission is read by the notary, who immediately lays it in the Archbishop's hands.

"10. The new Bishop repeats his oath aloud with his hand on the Holy Bible: and the Archbishop says to him: God strengthen and comfort thee hereto. Amen.

"11. The first assistant says, *Edat reverendissimus Dominus fidei suae confessionem;* whereupon the new Bishop reads the Nicene Creed.

"12. The Bishop's office is delivered to the new Bishop in that the Archbishop says: 'By the authority which is entrusted to me, on God's behalf, by His Church for this purpose, I commit to thee the Bishop's office in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' Therewith the Archbishop lays the commission in his (the Bishop-elect's) hands and with the help of the assistants vests him in the cope.

"12. The notary begins the psalm (hymn), 'Now pray we the Holy Ghost,' during which all kneel.

"14. When they have risen the Archbishop and assistants lay their hands on the new Bishop's head, saying, Our Father, etc.

"15. Afterward the Archbishop reads this paper, 'O everlasting and merciful God,' etc. (as in 1571).

"16. The Blessing is read.

"17. The whole act ends with Psalm 305, Now thank we all our God, or some other."

Comment. Baelter adds that some things were done as in the ordering of priests, which undoubtedly refers to the questions to the candidate, omitted in his account.

It will be noticed that this Ordinal has been a good deal strengthened: 1. By designating the Archbishop as the ordinator, which he always was before without reasons for the contrary. 2. By specifying several episcopal assistants. 3. By express words of authoritative delivery, on behalf of God and

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His Church, and by the use of a particular vestment allied in Sweden with the Episcopate, the cope. No mention is made of the mitre, but it appears to have been used, with the cross and staff.

The objection has been made that the ordaining power is derived from the Church. It can not be reasonably stated that the derivation was from the particular congregation, nor from the Church as acephalous, but only from the Church in a particular way, and that way the ancient way.

The *Veni Creator* comes in here in a better place than in 1571.

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III.—Successive Forms of Episcopal Consecration in the Church of Sweden. The Ordinal of 1809.

FROM THE HANDBOOK.

CHAPTER 13. How a Bishop shall be set in his office. (Here occurs for the first time the troublesome word *inställa*, used likewise in the Institution of Rectors.)

TRANSLATION.

"¶ This should take place after preceding announcement and prayer from the pulpit upon a Sunday or Holy Day in the Cathedral, if there are no legal impediments.

"At the end of divine service, the act begins with a suitable psalm, during which there advance to the altar first two priests wearing chasubles, then the Bishop to be *installed* (set) in office, wearing a surplice, and then the Archbishop and his assistants. The Archbishop goes up to the altar; his assistants take their places on each side of the rail, and the Bishop in the choir, in front of the altar. The cope which is carried by the priests who precede the Bishop is laid at one side upon the altar rail.

"At the close of the psalm, the Archbishop delivers an address, and when it is finished turns to the altar. The rest kneel down with him and the Archbishop reads the following prayer:

"Eternal, Almighty God, Thou who of love to our race hast sent Thy Son Jesus Christ to be our Saviour and Teacher, so that being justified by Him we may be pleasing to Thee; Thou, who in Thy wisdom hast seen fit to ordain a ministry (Prediko-Embet) to proclaim Thy doctrine, and, to its advancement, as the God of order, hast appointed certain persons who should have oversight thereof, that all may go on properly in the Church; Look, Lord, in mercy

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upon this Thy servant, who comes before Thy face to be set in the Bishop's office. We pray Thee with confiding hearts, Give him grace, that, according to Thy holy intentions, and agreeably to Thy will, he may further the great purpose which Thou hast aimed at through the Teaching Office, the eternal salvation of souls. Fill him with virtue and love of truth. Lead him with Thy light and arm him with the power and integrity which are needed, rightly to carry out this weighty call. Let his own heart know the worth of the precious doctrine which it belongs to him to preserve. Let him, strengthened by its power, consecrate to Thy service with the utmost care the gifts Thou hast bestowed upon him, and use all means and all opportunities to advance Thy glory, the edification and increase of the Christian Church. Give him grace narrowly to prove and ordain skilled teachers for the service of the Church, with devotion and energy to take up the fostering of the young and the care of the poor, and with wisdom and justice drive away all evil, and strengthen what is good, useful, and laudable. Let him by word and example edify others, and himself be a pattern of the godliness which he preaches for others. Preserve him in a true and lively faith in our Saviour Jesus Christ, until the end, and after he has instructed many to their salvation, let him attain to receive the reward of grace which Thou hast promised faithful teachers. Amen.

"¶ *Thereafter the notary reads the commission to the office the Bishop has attained, and delivers it to the Archbishop, who says:*

"Since thou hast been called to the office of Bishop in N. N. diocese, and art come before the Lord's altar to be set in this office, now therefore, hear with attention and hold fast in heart the precious teachings which now shall be read to thee out of God's word."

"¶ *Thereafter the assistants read the following texts:*

"[St. Matt. 28: 18-20; Titus 1: 7-9; I. St. Tim. 6: 11, 12; I. St. Tim. 5: 21, 22; Acts 20: 28; I. St. Peter 5: 2-4; St. Luke 12: 37, 38.]

"¶ *Then the Archbishop says:*

"May these divine words be deeply impressed in thy soul, living in thy heart! May they be a rule for thy life, a reminder of thy

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responsibility. May they increase thy watchfulness, inflame thy zeal, and consecrate thee to the Chief Shepherd's service, to the care of the diocese which has been confided to thee.

"The Church of Jesus Christ expects from thee, that thou, convinced of the weight of the Bishop's office, hast already considered with thyself the precious duties this office lays upon thee.

"The Church of Jesus Christ expects of thee, that thou hast, with most earnest prayer in Jesus' Name, called upon the Most High for help and coöperation to fulfil this worthily. Further to strengthen thee in this holy purpose, before God who knoweth thy heart and shall require account of thy vows; before this altar where every penitent sinner receives assurance of a share in the atonement thou shalt preach; before this Christian assembly whose voice shall one day witness of thy engagements; I will exhort thee to make thy confession of faith, and answer the questions I shall put to thee.

"¶ *The Bishop makes his confession of faith.*

"'I believe in God the Father Almighty,' etc. (the Apostles' Creed). (*The Holy Catholic Church* is rendered 'One holy *Christian* Church.')

"¶ *After the Creed is finished, the Archbishop says:*

"The Lord God give thee grace to continue in this faith until the end, and to strengthen them therein who are thy brothers in the faith.

"¶ *Thereafter the Archbishop asks the following questions:*

"Dost thou declare thyself willing to take upon thyself with all its duties the weighty office of Bishop in N. N. Diocese?"

"¶ *Answer.* Yes.

"Dost thou pledge thyself to offer all the powers of soul and body to the exercise of this office?

"¶ *Answer.* Yes.

"Dost thou promise to provide that according to God's word there shall be preached the doctrine of reconciliation, for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption?

"¶ *Answer.* Yes.

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"Dost thou promise, through God's grace, to be a pattern to others in orthodoxy and virtue?

"¶ *Answer.* Yes.

"Dost thou promise, with the utmost watchfulness to ward off all evil, and strengthen that which is good, useful, and laudable?

"¶ *Answer.* Yes.

"¶ *The Archbishop says further:*

"Thou dost thus recognize thy duties. Thou hast declared thy serious purpose to fulfil them. Affirm this now with thy official oath.

"¶ *The Bishop, with his hand on the Bible, repeats his official oath.*

"¶ *After it has been made, the Archbishop says:*

"God Almighty strengthen and help thee to keep all this! And I, according to the authority committed to me, on God's behalf, by His Church for this purpose, deliver herewith to thee the Royal Commission, and also the Bishop's office in N. N. Diocese, and I fix on thy breast this memorial of Jesus Christ, for a continual reminder that it is His precious doctrine of reconciliation thou must preach and keep holy; and I give thee also this staff, as a token of thy right, and reminder of thy duty, to guide and govern the flock now committed to thee, and this I do, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. May the Most High grant that this may tend to thine own eternal salvation, and that of those entrusted to thee! We will for this pray God, from whom every good and perfect gift cometh, as we now unite our petitions in the prayer our dear Saviour has taught us.

"¶ *The Archbishop and assistants now vest the Bishop with the cope, whereupon they lay their hands on the Bishop's head and the Archbishop prays:*

" 'Our Father, who art in heaven,' etc.

"¶ *Thereafter the mitre is put on, and after that is done, the Archbishop ascends to the altar and says:*

"Almighty God bless thy labor in the Church, so that His great

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Name may be glorified thereby, and the eternal weal of many souls helped on, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"¶ *Further the Archbishop reads over him the blessing:*

"The Lord bless thee and keep thee, etc.

"¶ *At the end is sung a psalm, after which the Archbishop, the Bishop, and the others return to the vestry.*"

Comment. In this edition of the hand-book appears the elaborated service, "How a Rector Shall be Installed in His Congregation." It follows the chapter, Of Ordination (*Invigning*) to the Ministry (*Prediko-embetet*). It has been objected that if *inställa* does not mean ordination in the service for instituting a rector (*Kyrkoherde*), it cannot mean ordination in the other service where the Bishop is "installed." It has been further objected that all through the service the new Bishop is spoken of as "the Bishop," and that, the words conferring the office, *"Jag . . . . Antwardar dig härmed Konungens Fullmakt, och darjemte Bishops embetet,"* imply that the royal commission made the Bishop. The answer is that "consecration" sometimes means ordination in our Prayer Book and sometimes not; that the Swedes find *inställa* convenient to describe a service which not only confers orders, but does also amount to a public installation into a place having many public duties; for a Bishop is never otherwise installed except at his consecration; whereas *"invigning"* or ordination to the priesthood does not confer a particular place or relation to any parish and is therefore supplemented by a public installation in the parish itself; that the delivery of the royal *"fullmakt" refers entirely* to one side of the service. (The Bishop obtains rights which the Church cannot confer.) And finally, the anticipatory use of terms is very common all the world over. Certain it is that no one in Sweden would presume to act as a Bishop without consecration. The penalties are too severe.

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There is a special form of prayer directed to be used in the pulpit with notice of the impending consecration. I have examined it carefully, but it adds nothing material to the offices, and hence I have not thought it worth while to include it, either here or in the subsequent ordinals.

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IV.—Successive Forms of Episcopal Consecration in the Church of Sweden. The Ordinal of 1881.

THE changes from 1809 are not so numerous but that they may very briefly be noted. The word *inställa* is still used to describe the service. The preliminary rubric prescribes that the assistants shall stand, if priests, outside, and if Bishops inside the altar rail. Besides the cope they are to carry in "the other episcopal *insignia.*" All apparently are to wear chasubles. And the word *inviga* is used in the closing part of the long rubric as the precise equivalent of *inställa.*

After the opening hymn, the Archbishop uses the invocation, "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

"The opening prayer returns to the shorter form in use in 1571. To the Holy Scriptures read add St. John 21: 15-17; Ephes. 4: 10-12, and substitute St. Luke 12: 42-44, 48, for vv. 37, 38 of the same chapter."

The Archbishop concludes his admonition with the words: "The Church of Jesus Christ expects of thee, that thou wilt fight the good fight of faith, lay hold of eternal life, and witness a good confession."

"The Apostles' Creed is recited by the new Bishop with the words *'en helig allmännelig Kyrka'; 'allmännelig'* being the Swedish word for *universal.*

"The examination is somewhat different. The second question is changed to, 'Wilt thou endeavor thyself that this office may be executed by thee in every way rightly and worthily, to the honor of God, and the salvation of souls?'

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"The third question is replaced by: 'Wilt thou always continue in God's pure word, flee all false and heretical doctrine, and give careful heed that Jesus Christ be rightly preached according to God's word, and the Holy Sacraments administered according to His institution?'

"(The two following questions have altered the words but not the sense.)

"The sentence of delivery is: 'God Almighty strengthen and help thee to keep all this. And according to the authority which is entrusted to me on God's behalf by His Church for this purpose, I commit to thee herewith the Bishop's office in N. N. Diocese, in the Name,' etc.

"¶ *All kneel down, and the choir, softly accompanied by the organ, sings Psalm* 132, *'O du Helge Ande! Kom.'*

"O Thou Holy Ghost, come in to us. Abide with grace and peace in the hearts of Thy faithful. Kindle and maintain there the living flame of Thy love, Thou who unitest with concord the people of every land and tongue, Hallelujah, Hallelujah!

"¶ *During the singing the Archbishop delivers to him who is installed, first the King's Commission, and then the Bishop's cross, which he hangs on his breast. Thereupon the assistants put the cope on the Bishop, and the Archbishop delivers him the pastoral staff. At the end of the song the Archbishop and assistants lay their hands on the Bishop's head, and the Archbishop prays:*

" 'Our Father.'

"¶ *Then the mitre is put on, and when this is done, the Archbishop ascends again to the altar and says:*

"Let us pray.

"¶ *Then he turns to the altar and reads the following prayer:*

"We thank Thee, Almighty God, merciful Father, that Thou of Thine endless love hast given us Thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ for a Saviour, who after He had redeemed us by His death, and had ascended up above all heavens, hath richly poured forth His gifts over men, and for the edifying of His Church, set some to be Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and

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teachers; and we pray Thee, grant this Thy servant who is now set to have oversight in the Church Thy Holy Spirit, that he may always be ready to the gospel of peace, and use the office which is given him, not to pull down but to build up, not to harm but to help. Let him not neglect the gift which is in him, but be instant to pray, establish Thy Word, and read, exhort, and teach. Let him through honor and dishonor, through evil report and good report, in all things show himself as Thy servant, in great patience, in labor, in watching, in fasting, in pureness, in wisdom, in long-suffering, in gentleness, in the Holy Ghost, in an unfeigned love, in the word of truth, in the power of God, by the armor of righteousness on the right and on the left; so that he as a faithful and wise servant, who has fed his household in due season, may at last attain eternal joy; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with Thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, one God, from eternity to eternity. Amen."

The usual blessing is then given. And a psalm is sung while the procession returns to the vestry.

Comment. From Dr. Pusey's day, English writers have objected to the mention of the King's Commission or *Fullmakt* in the ordinal senior to this. The Swedes do not recognize that these strictures could be made with any proper understanding of their forms, but they have met the objection and removed any reason for it in this ordinal. The last prayer is only slightly altered from the English Prayer Book. Among the new Scriptures is also one of the gospels from the English Consecration service.

The oath several times referred to was repealed in 1884. The ordinal of 1894 is the same as above, only minus the oath.

After opportunity of free intercourse with many prominent scholars in Sweden I am able to say that they are conscious of no break or alteration in the intention of their Church. There stands their unchanged Church law. They deny that the Book of Concord, or the Smalkald Articles, were ever coördinate authority with their older symbols; their own law has governed.

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They first determined at Westerâs not to make a new sort of bishops or superintendents, but to *retain* them, though deprived of civil pomp and state. And they determined before Laurentius Petri died, and have always maintained, in law and fact, that Bishops should be *elected,* that they should be *confirmed,* and *consecrated* by a bishop or bishops, through prayer and the laying-on of hands.

In concluding, I would recite that I have heard, but looked in vain for evidence in Sweden, that the pontifical used there before the Reformation was very simple. I have, however, some evidence from Norway, which was for a hundred years before Gustavus Vasa's time combined with Sweden (at least during most of that period) through the Calmar Union. Bishop Bang, the present Lutheran Bishop of Christiania, gives the following description of a pre-Reformation consecration.

[TRANSLATION FROM THE NORWEGIAN.]

"The Archbishop came before the altar accompanied by his assistants. The one to be ordained presented himself before him with a Bishop on each side. The Introit and verse were sung, then, instead of *Kyrie Eleison,* the Archbishop began the *Great Gloria,* whereupon the Mass was interrupted and the ordination act begun. The Ordinator took the Book of the Gospels and laid it, first open, then closed, on the head of the ordinand, in which position it was held by the two assisting Bishops. The Archbishop then sprinkled the ordinand with holy water, laid his hand on his head, and repeated a long ordination prayer, in which he called upon God, who had appointed the episcopal office, and in the Old Covenant had bidden Moses to clothe Aaron with the High Priestly garment, that He would grant His servant steadfastness in faith and purity in love, and supply him with all the qualities and gifts which his office required. Thereafter he anointed his hands and head during suitable prayers, whereupon the Archbishop delivered him the pastoral staff and put the Bishop's ring on the fourth finger of his right hand.

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Vested with the episcopal insignia he was now placed upon the episcopal throne during the longer prayer, whereupon the consecration ended with a blessing over the ordained Bishop."—*Udsigt over den Norske Kirkes Historie under Katholicismen*, p. 159.

If Bishop Bang's account is a fair one, the Swedish practice has cut out little but the unction and the use of the Bible. Unction was used until Upsala möte, but neither that nor the laying the Bible on the candidate's head seems important. The Scandinavian rites came largely from England, and several English Pontificals do not even contain the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost." It might easily, therefore, have been absent in the Swedish rite. However, there is not much proof. I could find no old Pontificals in Sweden.

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V.—The Priesthood in the Swedish Church. From the Preface to the Ordinal of 1571.

AND it should first be noted, that no one be suffered in the priesthood (*prestaembetet*) unless he has come thereto through regular call. For it can properly escape no one that election, scrutiny, examination, prayer, etc., are certainly God's ordinance. And it is comforting that one should know how that our Lord Jesus Christ will maintain the ministry (*predikoembetet*) with might; and so through this call. And this has been done immediately after the apostles' time, that the congregation chose themselves preachers, and this choice was afterward confirmed by the Bishop through prayer and the laying on of hands."

The way to ordain priests. (1571.)

"¶ *On some holy day (when the people are present) the Ordinarius shall first deliver them a short exhortation to general prayer in this form:*

"Dear friends, these persons before you are intended and called to the priesthood and the ministry of the Christian Church, and have been heard and examined, and so far as human understanding can judge of them, have been found suitable for the time and condition. And because this business is greater and weightier than that any man can execute it well, without God's special grace and help, it is therefore needful that we here do what our Lord Jesus Christ has commanded, saying, 'Pray the Lord of the harvest that He send laborers into His harvest.' So let us now do with all our hearts," etc. [The etc. at the end and a quotation in brackets indicate that this quotation was often considerably extemporized or altered.]

"¶ *Immediately then, Ordinarius, ordinandi, and all the people kneel down. First two small dieknar (choristers) sing the litany,*

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and then Ordinarius reads first one of the collects following the litany, and afterward that which stands in the Handbook for Teachers, namely this":

(The same prayer as in the same relative position in the Bishop's ordinal.)

"¶ *Meanwhile, when convenient, the litany may be omitted and instead sung* 'O Thou Holy Ghost, come,' *with the collect belonging to it, and afterward the second, for teachers"* (as above).

"¶ *When this is done, and all have risen, one of the priests shall reckon up the names of those to be ordained, giving out also the titles, to what church or diocese they are to be ordered; then they go forward at once in order in albs, as they are called, or in their own decent clothing, and kneel down before the altar, when the Ordinarius says:*

"Since you are called to this ministry which is the priesthood, hear first, and give heed to these words which St. Paul, Jesus Christ's apostle, has written about the same office and ministry.

"¶ *Then Ordinarius or some of the priests who stand by shall read St. Paul's words, I. St. Tim. 3, likewise Titus 1, also Acts 20, saying,* 'These following words St. Paul writes to his disciple Timothy: "This is a faithful saying . . . snare of the evil one."'

"¶ *Likewise also to his disciple Titus:*

"A Bishop should be blameless . . . gainsayers.

"¶ *Likewise also in the Acts:*

"Take heed to yourselves . . . with tears.

"¶ *Then Ordinarius makes a brief exposition in this form:*

"Here we learn, that to us who are called to be pastors and preachers is committed a watch and ward, not over unreasonable beasts, cattle, or sheep, but over the Church of the Living God, which He has purchased with His own blood, that we should feed and govern it with God's pure word, and diligently give heed that wolves, that is, false teachers, come not in to hurt. Therefore he calls this a good and glorious work. So we are commanded for our own persons to live honest and virtuous lives, and keep our homes, wives, children, and servants honestly and Christianly.

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"¶ *Afterward Ordinarius asks them the following questions, saying:*

"Will you now in the Name of God the Holy Trinity take upon yourselves this ministry and *priesthood?*

"¶ *Thereto they answer with clear voice, saying,* Yes."

[The other questions as in the Ordinal for Bishops.]

[At the last, *Ordinarius* lets them answer in concert, reading aloud the following words from the book]:

"All this I will gladly do with God's help and grace.

"¶ *Then Ordinarius says to them:*

"God comfort and strengthen you to this, always. Amen.

"¶ *Thereafter he delivers them the priest's office with these following words, saying:*

"And I by the authority entrusted to me on God's behalf by His Church for this purpose, commit to you the priest's office, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"¶ *Then Ordinarius alone or with the other priests who are present immediately lays both his hands on their heads, saying:*

"Let us Pray. Our Father, etc.

"¶ *And after the Lord's Prayer he reads this following collect.*"

[As in the Bishop's ordinal, changing the words *Bishopsembet* to *prestaembet.*]

[Finally, at the close, *Ordinarius* addresses to *Ordinatis* these words of St. Peter, "Feed the flock of God . . . never fading crown of glory."]

"¶ *And when all this is done, Ordinarius begins the song,* 'Now pray we the Holy Ghost,' etc., *and the whole choir sings it through so that it becomes the Introit of the Mass. Until the first verse is sung all remain kneeling, then they take each one his place. When there is time, Ordinati go to the Holy Communion.*

"¶ *Whoever ventures to exercise the priesthood either in whole or part without being chosen and called thereto or ordained by the Bishop in the above manner, the same may be punished,*" *etc.*

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II.

PRIESTS' ORDINAL OF 1686.

[The changes from 1571 are very unimportant. It is prescribed that the Bishop shall wear his cope, four consistorial assistants their usual vestments, and the candidates their surplices. The litany is omitted and the "Come, Holy Spirit," used instead. The same words are used in delivery of orders as in 1571. But there is no mention of Communion. The priest's oath, now repealed, is given during the period 1686-1809 in two forms. The Church Law directs the *Predikoembet* to be conferred, but the actual practice in the service was to use the old form, *prestaembet*. No handbooks contain the service after that of 1686, and that has only general directions, not amounting to a repeal of the form for 1571.]

THE ORDINAL OF 1809.

This will be found in Chapter 14 of the Handbook, headed—*"Our Invigning till Prediko-embetet."*

[TRANSLATION.]

"¶ This should occur, if there are no legal obstacles, in the Cathedral, after preceding notice and prayer in the pulpit."

[At the close of divine service a psalm is sung, during which the Bishop, the assistants, and *Ordinandi* advance toward the altar. *Ordinandi* wear surplices. Chasubles are laid on the altar rail according to the arrangement and placing of *Ordinandi*.]

"¶ When the psalm is ended the Bishop says:

"In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"¶ Thereafter he makes an address. When this is finished the Bishop says:

"After previous examination, these men come to-day before the Lord's altar to be ordained and consecrated to the ministry (*Predikoembet*). But as this office is of such importance that no man can well execute it without God's special grace and help, we will therefore pray God, who has promised to guard His Church to the world's end, and to send faithful teachers into His congregation, for a blessing upon them.

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"¶ *The Bishop turns to the altar, the rest kneel down, and the Bishop reads the following prayer:*

"Eternal, Almighty God, Thou who of love to our race hast sent Thy Son Jesus Christ to be our Saviour and Teacher, and through Him appointed the ministry (*embet*) which shall preach the doctrine of reconciliation and call men, in the right way, through true faith and sanctification, to seek a share in the salvation He has won for us, uphold and increase Thy Holy Christian Church, and send us orthodox Teachers who may proclaim Thy counsel about man's salvation. And as these Thy servants cannot carry out so weighty a call without Thy help, we therefore pray Thee to give them grace to execute it rightly. Fill them with love to truth and virtue. Lead them with Thy light, and arm them with the strength and zeal, the diligence and faithfulness, which is needful for a right teacher. Let their own hearts know the worth of the precious doctrine they proclaim. May they, strengthened by its power, with the utmost carefulness consecrate to Thy service the gifts Thou hast bestowed on them, and use all means, all occasions, to set forward Thy glory, and to lead men to a true Christianity. Arm them with strength and courage to preach Thy word with wisdom and energy, and thereby waken the drowsy, stir up the slothful, enkindle the cold hearted, comfort the afflicted, upraise the fallen, and strengthen the faithful.

"Give them grace through their doctrine and example to edify others, and themselves be a pattern of the godliness they preach for their hearers. Keep them to the end in a true and living faith in our Saviour Jesus Christ, and after they have instructed many to salvation, may they attain in Thy glorious kingdom the reward of grace which Thou hast promised faithful teachers. Amen.

"¶ *The notary then reads out the names of those to be ordained, and the service to which they are called, after which the Bishop continues:*

"Since you have been called to the holy ministry (*Prediko-embet*) and prepare to enter upon its exercise, listen now with attention and keep in your hearts, the precious teachings which shall be read to you out of God's Word.

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"¶ *Therefore the assistants read the following texts:*

[St. Matt. 28: 18-20; I. St. Tim. 4: 7-11; I. St. Tim. 4: 12, 16; St. Matt. 5: 16; II. St. Tim. 2: 15; II. St. Tim. 2: 24-25; II. St. Tim. 2: 22.]

"¶ *Therefore the Bishop says:*

"May these divine words be deeply impressed in your souls, living in your hearts. May they be a rule for your conduct, a reminder of your responsibility. May they increase your watchfulness, inflame your hearts, now and always, to hallow yourselves to the Chief Shepherd's service. Amen.

"The Church of Jesus Christ expects of you, that convinced of the importance of this office, you have already weighed with yourselves the precious duties which rest upon you as teachers of the gospel. The Church of Jesus Christ expects that you have with solemn prayer in Jesus' Name called upon the Most High for help and assistance worthily to exercise this office. Further to strengthen you in this holy purpose, I will now, before God who knows your hearts and will require account for your vows; before this altar where every penitent sinner receives assurance of a share in the atonement you are to preach; before this congregation which is now witness to your engagements, admonish you to make your confession of faith and answer the questions I shall put to you.

"¶ *The notary repeats the Apostles' Creed.*"

[The *Holy Catholic Church* is rendered *en helig Christelig Kyrka.*]

"¶ *After the Creed has been repeated the Bishop says:*

"The Lord God give you grace to abide in this faith steadfast to the end, and therein to strengthen them who are your brethren in faith.

"¶ *Then the Bishop asks the following questions:*

"Do you declare yourselves willing to take up the precious *prediko-embet* (ministry: priesthood) with all its duties?

"¶ *Ans.* Yes.

"Do you pledge yourselves to dedicate all the powers of soul and body to the exercise of this office?

"¶ *Ans.* Yes.

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"Do you promise, according to God's Word, to preach the doctrine of reconciliation, unto wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption?

"¶ *Ans.* Yes.

"Do you promise, through God's grace, to be a pattern to others in orthodoxy and virtue?

"¶ *Ans.* Yes.

"¶ *The Bishop further says:*

"You thus acknowledge your obligations. You have declared your solemn intention to fulfil them. Affirm this now with your official oath.

"¶ *The oath is read by the Notary, and when it is finished the Bishop says:*

"God Almighty strengthen and help you to keep all this! And I, according to the authority entrusted to me on God's behalf by His Church, commit herewith to you the *Prediko-embet*, in the name of God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. May the Most High grant that it may turn to your own salvation, and theirs who are entrusted to you. We will now pray God who giveth every good and perfect gift, as we now unite our supplications in the prayer our dear Saviour has taught us.

"¶ *Thereafter the Bishop and the Assistants set the chasuble on him to be ordained, and during the laying on of hands pray for each one separately,* Our Father, etc.

"¶ *After this is done, the Bishop again ascends to the altar and says:*

"God Almighty bless your work in the Church, so that His great Name may be glorified, and the salvation of many souls be helped forward, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Bow your hearts to God and receive the blessing.

"The Lord bless you, etc.

"¶ *At the end a psalm is sung, after which the Bishop and others return to the sacristy.*

Comment. Critics of the Swedish Ordinal insist that *Prediko-embet* should be translated exclusively *Preaching office,*

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and that the priesthood cannot possibly be conferred under such a name.

The Swedish version of the Augsburg Confession describes the *Prediko-embet* as the ***Ministry of the Word and Sacraments.*** The words *prestembet, and prediko-embet* are used interchangeably through the long preface to the ordinal of 1571. At the conclusion of the above-described service occurs this announcement and prayer which is to precede it:

"Announcement and prayer which, after the sermon, just before the Lord's Prayer, is read from the pulpit, the day when the *Prestwigning* shall occur."

Prestwigning is therefore an exact synonym for *Inwigning till prediko-embet.* (V. and W. are interchangeable in Old Swedish spelling).

The Swedes have a right to interpret their own language. *Prediko-embet* and *Prestembet* are *exact dictionary equivalents,* and any suggestion of a difference in their meaning is met in Sweden with the greatest surprise. If the ordinal is taken alone, and dislocated from the rest of the Handbook, it undoubtedly lacks explicit reference to sacramental functions. But it is merely Chapter XIV. of a book full of sacramental functions to be performed by the priest, and unlawful for anyone else. Besides this, the priest receives at the time of ordination a very explicit *prestbref* or letter of orders in which all his functions are described. However, there is no doubt that the ordinal above given has been criticised, and that efforts have been made by the Swedish Church to remove any just cause of criticism, as this ordinal of 1809 was subsequently changed very materially.

Dr. Nicholson has an elaborate published argument justifying the description of the priest's office by any one of its undoubted functions. Preaching, he says, peculiarly belongs to the priest. The deacon *may* preach, but only by license. It

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belongs to the priest. But there seems no need of this, as the Swedish Church has defined *Prediko-embetet* as a Sacramental Ministry.

III.

ORDINAL OF 1881.

The important changes from that of 1809 are: The first long prayer is again that of 1571. The scriptures are St. Matt. 28:18-20; St. John 21:15-17; St. John 21:21-23; St. Matt. 10:32, 33; II. Cor. 5:17-20; Jer. 15:19; St. Matt. 5:13-16; I. St. Tim. 4:7, 8, 12-14, 16; II. St. Tim. 2:15, 16, 22-25; I. St. Pet. 5:2-4.

The Bishop's address to *Ordinandi* is word for word the same as the Archbishop's charge to the Bishop-elect in Chapter XIII., except the substitution of *Prediko-embet* for *Biskops embet.*

The Apostles' Creed mentions, instead of *"en helig Christelig Kyrka," en, helig, allmännelig Kyrka.*

The examination should be given at length:

"Do you declare yourselves willing, in the Name of the Holy Trinity, to take upon yourselves the precious *prediko-embet?*"

"Will you endeavor yourselves that this office may be executed by you in all particulars properly, to the honor of God and the salvation of souls?"

"Will you steadfastly abide in God's pure word, flee all false and heretical doctrine, rightly preach Jesus Christ according to God's Word, and *administer the Holy Sacraments* according to His Institution?"

"Will you likewise so arrange your lives that they may be an example to the faithful and scandalize no one?"

The last prayer again returns in form to 1571.

[Please note the sacramental reference in the questions.]

IV.

ORDINAL OF 1894.

Chapter XIII now bears the title:

"Of Ordination to the PRIESTHOOD."

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Before the Bishop's address this collect is said by him facing the altar:

"Lord God, dear Heavenly Father, Thou who teachest and rulest the hearts of Thy faithful by Thy Holy Spirit, grant us that we may be illuminated to the knowledge of Thy truth, and always rejoice in Thy comfort and power, through Thy Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen."

The prayer after the address is a somewhat abbreviated version of that of 1571. To the scriptures are added Ezekiel 3: 17-19. The word *prediko-embet* is changed *wherever it occurs to prestembet.*

There are several changes in the questions. The changes undoubtedly came in through the repeal of the priests' oath in 1884.

The questions read therefore:

"Before God and this Christian assembly I ask:

"Do you declare yourselves willing to take upon yourselves in the Name of the Holy Trinity the precious priesthood and execute it to the glory of God and the salvation of souls?"

"Will you steadfastly abide in the pure evangelical doctrine, which is grounded in God's Holy Word, the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, taken up and *explained*[1] in the unaltered Augsburg confession and the decree of Upsala möte of the year 1593, so that you neither publicly preach nor spread, nor privately forward any contrary doctrines?"

"Will you also in the exercise of the priesthood keep and follow the Church's law and statutes, show due obedience to your superiors and faithfully carry out what is laid upon you; admonish your hearers to the practice of godliness and show them faithful and hearty service; take Christian care of the poor, sick, and unprotected, and through the grace God bestows, comfort and uplift vexed and troubled hearts?"

"Will you likewise order your lives that they may be an example to the faithful and offence to none?"

"¶ *Then there is read by the notary and repeated by each and*

[1] Italics mine.

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every ordinand, who at the same time gives his name, the following assurance:

"All this, I, *N. N.* promise before the All Knowing God, and with the great day of account before my eyes, to follow out honestly and conscientiously, with God's grace and help."

The sentence of delivery is as before with *prestembet* instead of *prediko-embet*. All kneel during Psalm 132, "O Thou Holy Spirit Come." The vesting of the *ordinands* is done by the assistants alone, after the Bishop has given each one his *priest's letter*. The Lord's Prayer is said for each one separately, and then follows the prayer:

"Eternal merciful God, Heavenly Father! We most heartily pray Thee that Thou wouldest graciously look upon these Thy servants who are now ordained to Thy service in the sacred Priesthood, and give them Thy Holy Spirit. Grant them that they may henceforth, through watchfulness and prayer, be strengthened by Thy word, and continue stedfast in the warfare for Thy kingdom, faithfully and powerfully carry out Thy work, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all meekness and wisdom; so that Thy Holy Gospel may continue among us pure and without falsehood, and bring us the fruit of eternal life; through Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Then follows I. St. Peter 5: 2-4, the Blessing, and final hymn.

Comment.—This is the first mention of the *prestbref*, priest's letter, as given ceremonially. The reader has doubtless noted the great similarity of the scriptures for Bishops and priests. He will, however, find practically the same epistle used for both Bishops and priests in the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. (one form being somewhat shorter than the other). The same is true in Queen Elizabeth's book, contemporary with the *Kyrko-ordning* of 1571.

With regard to the service for installing a *Kyrko-herde* or rector, it has grown from simple beginnings to its present considerable proportions. Simply remarking that it is sufficient proof that the *Kyrko-herde* is not there reordained, that he is called in the service *Introducendus* and never *Ordinandus*, and

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that even the extremely Low Church Baelter expressly denied the character of ordination to the service then current, I will only add that I will trace the development of this office if asked to do so, at some suitable opportunity.

Anything that has occurred since 1894 is not of sufficient importance to delay us. I will publish any subsequent changes, should any occur that are of weight.

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VI.—Semi-Official Pronouncements on Swedish Orders by Anglican Authorities.

I.

THE REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMISSION IN THE JOURNAL OF 1895.

PRIOR to 1895 there had been for some years a Joint Commission of both Houses of the General Convention on the Validity of the Orders of the Church of Sweden. At the meeting in October of that year in Minneapolis this commission reported, through the late Bishop of Iowa, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Perry. That report may be found on page 99 of the Journal of the House of Bishops, and is signed by the following members of the commission: W. E. McLaren, Bishop of Chicago; William Stevens Perry, Bishop of Iowa; A. M. Randolph, Bishop of Southern Virginia; William F. Nichols, Bishop of California; G. M. Christian, G. McClellan Fiske, and H. R. Percival.

It will be recognized at once as Dr. Percival's report, and signed by the other members through confidence in the thoroughness of his researches. He was the author of a considerable pamphlet on the subject, in which the same views were ably advocated. But he was not in full possession of all the facts.

I entered the House of Bishops in 1896. I had already a considerable acquaintance with the Swedish language, and had come in contact with the Augustana synod and a congregation and several Swedish clergy of our own Church.

The late Bishop Gilbert, who had charge of several Swedish churches, was seriously disturbed at this report. He succeeded

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in preventing its adoption, though harm was done by its appearance in the Journal, and, at his suggestion, I brought the matter personally before the Lambeth Conference of 1897, and was appointed secretary of the sub-committee (under the chairmanship of the late Bishop Ridding of Southwell), which drew up the report. That report gives both *pros* and *cons*. There was very little material before the committee. We relied partly on Dr. Nicholson's book, and partly on translations, which I personally made in the library of the British Museum. Dr. Percival's views were supported by such Bishops as Dr. Chinnery-Haldane and our own Bishop Hale. A majority of that committee had departed this life before the next Lambeth Conference met, and new men for the most part began the work again. I was again made secretary.

The report of 1895, which I take up and comment upon, paragraph by paragraph, was as follows:

"Your Joint Commission, to whom was entrusted the consideration of the Regularity and Validity of the Orders of the Church of Sweden, beg leave to report that they have given the matter their careful study."

Comment. I venture to doubt whether much work was done by any member of the Commission except Dr. Percival. The report does not show the marks, and some of the signers, I know, had not thoroughly informed themselves.

"1. They find that there is a very strong probability that in the established Church of Sweden, a tactual ministerial succession has been continued since the period of the Lutheran Reformation."

Comment. I should like to characterize this as an extremely unfair statement, though it *looks* like a concession. The Presbyterians probably have a tactual *ministerial* succession. Even the German Lutherans have one "since the period of the Lutheran Reformation." What is claimed in Sweden,

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and has been proved beyond a shadow of doubt, is that there has been a tactual succession of *Bishops,* ordained by *Bishops,* explicitly as *Bishops,* by prayer and the laying-on of hands. This lays aside for the moment the sufficiency of the forms.

Then, as to "the period of the Lutheran Reformation"; that means something quite different in Sweden from what it means in Germany. Sweden had Roman Bishops up to 1528, and *one* who lived and cared for his diocese several years afterwards. There was free preaching after that date, but there is no doubt that some of the Bishops consecrated in 1528 and afterward were thoroughly out of sympathy with the Reformation. *No* Lutheran formularies were explicitly adopted in Sweden until 63 years after the promulgation of the Augsburg Confession; the other books (save the little catechism, entirely non-polemic), *not until 93 years after. All this time* Sweden had Bishops; all the other Churches of the Augsburg Confession had given them up, Norway and Denmark deliberately. There was a Bishop in Denmark who consented to be one of the new Lutheran superintendents. But his orders were not used in establishing the new quasi-episcopate.

"2. They also find that since that time the Swedish Church has not retained the three orders of the ministry, the diaconate as a Holy Order being entirely rejected."

Comment. This statement is unfair because of the emphasis. The Swedish Church *has* retained *two* of three orders; she has not always retained the other one. She is developing the one which she long neglected, on the primitive New Testament model. The relation of the diaconate to the other orders, in our own communion, is not an absolute necessity from the nature and constitution of the Christian Church. There could be deacons who were never preachers, never designed for the priesthood, and never baptized. There could be priests and

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Bishops who never were deacons, and this without disparagement to their orders. *It is not our way,* but we could concede the validity of such orders in another Church. Where the Episcopate is, the other two orders are latent, though they be not continually conferred. There could be an apostolic succession of Bishops of whom none was ever specially and previously ordained priest or deacon.

The English Episcopate has, more than once, conferred orders *per saltum.*

"3. They further find that at the Swedish ordinations the laying on of hands is accompanied by no words denoting the conferring of any gift, order, or office, nor by any prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost. The only words now used, and this has been *the unvarying custom* since 1571, are the Lord's Prayer."

Comment. This statement or series of statements has no further foundation than the fact that nothing was said in the Bishop's ordinal of 1571 corresponding to the phrase "I commit to thee the Bishop's Office," which occurs in every other sentence for ordination since 1686. But I have sufficiently showed in my translations that there have been variable customs; but that the laying-on of hands has always been followed, about as fast as one prayer can follow another, by a prayer for the Holy Ghost for the purposes of the special ministry conferred, except in 1809, where a prior prayer is very explicit; and that the order, or office, is always clearly specified *somewhere* in the service. Even the most elementary service, that for the Bishop, in 1571, says, within *two* minutes of the laying-on of hands, "Mercifully look upon this Thy servant, whom we have chosen and taken to this ministry and *Bishop's office,* giving him Thy Holy Spirit." This is ample, were there nothing else. We cannot understand how it could be thus denied. It puts our scholarship and fairness in a bad light.

"4. They also find that the same ceremony of the laying on of

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hands and the same words are used at the Ordination to the Office of Preaching, at the installing into the office of Church Pastor, and at the installing of a Bishop into office."

Comment. This refers, of course, to the Lord's Prayer, which is not only said in these offices, but in every other sacramental or non-sacramental service in the Swedish Church as the climax of the office. But the whole statement is most misleading. It is extremely difficult to forgive such a statement by any one professing to know. *So much else was said in each case!* Further, the translated titles of these services are misleading. *Prediko-embet* is the synonym for *prestembet.* The dictionaries and every Swedish scholar bear me out. The service for the installation of a *kyrkoherde* (rector), given above as *Church pastor,* is modern in its present form and *imitated* from the old service. It does not detract from their significance, and need not be carried out by a Bishop.

"5. They also find that while ordination or consecration to the episcopate is sometimes spoken of in the canon law, in the present office books there is no such service, but only one for installing a Bishop into office, which corresponds almost exactly with the form for installing a Church Pastor into office."

Comment. The Canon law tells how a Bishop is to be consecrated and the service called "How a Bishop is to be Installed" does demand explicitly what the Church law requires done when a Bishop is to be ordained or consecrated. I have further described the service elsewhere, and showed that *inställa* has more than one application. It is just as good a word as "ordain," which applies to various things, or "consecrate," which may apply to a church, or a cemetery, as well as a Bishop. The resemblance between the two services compared amounts to nothing unless they are *exactly* alike. Every commission in the United States army is exactly alike all the others, *except* the name of the rank and the name of the man. The second

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lieutenant's commission otherwise is a perfect copy of the major general's. In technical or legal documents we need *every* word.

Further, there is no possible doubt that the service called "How a Bishop is to be Installed in his Office" is the same service as the older one called "The Way to Ordain a Bishop-elect." They always have been identified in Sweden.

The report concludes:

"Your Joint Commission could add other facts, but they deem these sufficient to warrant their proposing the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That while not giving any judgment with regard to the validity or otherwise of ordination administered by the Established Church of Sweden, for the reason that the subject is now before the Lambeth Conference, for the greater security of our own people, the General Convention judges it right, that without receiving the order of deacon and afterwards that of priesthood with the undoubtedly sufficient form of words provided by our Prayer Book, and from a Bishop in communion with this Church, no minister of the Swedish Church shall be allowed to officiate in any congregation under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

Comment. This does not *seem* to pronounce, but it really does. It overlooks the fact that a reordination without good ground would be a sin and a scandal. It requires more of the Swedish Church than we could of any one else. Ordination by a Bishop in communion with our Church, or our own form, is not required before we can license a Roman or Greek priest. And we ourselves sometimes use a form not in the English Prayer Book ("Take thou authority," etc.).

II.

THE REPORTS IN THE JOURNAL OF 1898.

In the Journal of the General Convention of 1898 you will find two reports in the appendices, both referring to Swedish Orders. That marked I. is mine. It is not absolutely accurate,

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that is, in every minute detail. But it is a fair statement. I omit it because the whole truth is now coming out. But after my report was read, a second one, marked II., was hastily prepared and brought in by some other members of the Joint Commission, of which I had then become a member. My report called for no action.

I give the other report, which was signed by more names than mine, as a further evidence of the sort of facts relied on by the opponents of the claims of the Church of Sweden. The separate paragraphs are as follows:

"1. We believe that it is an undisputed fact that until 1829 every ordinand of the established Church of Sweden took an oath that he believed not only the Augsburg Confession but also the whole of the Book of Concord; this Book of Concord contains the Articles of Smalkald, which articles distinctly declare that *the power of ordination is not confined to Bishops.* Article X. says that 'Bishops, if true and devoted to the Church and the gospel, might be allowed for charity's and peace's sake to ordain and confirm preachers. But as they neither are nor wish to be true Bishops [referring to those of the Roman Church[1]], we [who hold the Smalkald Articles[1]] ought to and will ordain suitable persons to this office.'"

"In the appendix it is argued that the grades of Bishop and elder or pastor were made distinct only by human authority, and that as Bishops ordain in some Churches, so elders or pastors may ordain in their own churches. The divine right is common to all who preside over churches, whether they be called pastor or elder or Bishop. This of itself would seem to cast the gravest doubt on the validity of Swedish orders, since an ordination by one not a Bishop is distinctly declared to be valid."

Comment. There was *no* priest-oath *before* 1686. At that time the Book of Concord and Smalkald Articles were adopted, *not* as of coördinate authority with the Augsburg Confession, but as a commentary or explanation, *såsom förklåring.* The

[1] The bracketed words are inserted by the authors of the report.

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leading Swedish authorities stoutly deny that they are or ever have been pledged to the separate doctrines of the Book of Concord. These books lost their secondary authority in great measure in 1772, and *completely* in 1809. The Swedish Church had its explicit and binding law of ordinations to the Episcopate all this time, *which no other Lutheran body had.* I call attention to the bracketed words after "we" ["who hold the Smalkald Articles"] This is made to appear as if it meant *"all* we," who accept the Smalkald Articles, *in any sense,* which is unfair. I suppose that the majority of Swedish theologians would agree that emergency ordinations, *not* by Bishops, might be valid, *but they do not propose to allow them in their Church.* Their law forbids. Thousands of Churchmen have held the same view, Bishops, clergy, and others, while holding loyally to our own law. The preface to our ordinal is not a theory of orders. I assent to it *ex animo,* but it binds me to no theory. I am free to hold an extremely High Church theory and do hold it. But the Church would be disrupted if this theory were put into our regular formularies; though probably more clergy hold it now than ever before.

"2. The Church of Sweden has not professed and does not profess to have these orders of ministers—Bishops, priests and deacons. Whether the Order of Deacons has been formally rejected or simply neglected, the fact remains that there are no deacons in the Swedish Church."

Comment. The Church of Sweden *does* claim to have Bishops and priests and no one is ever made a Bishop who is not a priest. And the diaconate is now being restored. (See discussion of Svebilius' case, later.)

"3. In the Swedish office for inaugurating or ordaining into the preaching office, the following points are to be noted:

"(*a*) There is a laying on of hands, but it has never been accom-

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panied since the sixteenth century by words of definition of the office to be conferred.

"(*b*) No instruments have been delivered during the past centuries, the service book of 1884 contains no such *porrectio instrumentorum*.

"(*c*) The anthem, 'O Thou Holy Ghost,' was introduced only in 1868.

"(*d*) The prayer which is said to define the office to be conferred is said at the altar after the laying on of hands and is, as expressly stated, *for those already ordained*."

Comment. (*a*) *During* the laying-on of hands, only the Lord's Prayer is said, *but* immediately before *and as part of the continuous action* the words are used, "I commit unto thee the *prediko-embet* (ordinal of 1809-94), *prest-embet* (ordinals of 1571, 1686-1809, and since 1894). The final prayer is also completely definitive.

(*b*) The chasuble has been put on at the moment between the words designating the order and (immediately preceding) the Lord's Prayer, in *every ordinal since 1686*. It was probably *done* before. The rubrics are confessedly not exhaustive.

(*c*) That anthem, or its precise equivalent, another hymn to the Holy Spirit, has been in *every ordinal* somewhere, though not always in the same place.

(*d*) The action is so continuous that this objection falls. It makes no difference anyway.

"4. Admission to the Preaching Office is not strictly, though ordinarily, limited to Bishops. It has, as a matter of fact, been exercised by court chaplains; moreover, ministers of the Churches of Norway and Denmark, whose superintendents do not pretend to be Bishops, are received as duly ordained."

Comment. There is *no recorded case* of an ordination in Sweden to the ministry of the Swedish Church by any one not a Bishop *since 1772*. Prior to that the only known cases in any

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of the old Swedish dioceses are the ordinations by Dean Hedrén of Upsala during what was called the *frihetstid,* when the laws were loosely observed. He ordained on *three* occasions 20, 16, and 13 men. Their names and records are known. None became conspicuous, none became *ordinarii.* All other known cases of irregular ordinations were beyond the boundaries of Sweden, as one or two for America, some few for the army in Russia, or at Bender under Charles XII., or in one or two districts on the continent, where a Swedish Bishop was supposed to have jurisdiction, *in absolute defiance of his authority.*[2]

I do not print the Lambeth reports because they are otherwise accessible, and while showing the incompleteness of our study, do us no real discredit.

If any court chaplain presumed to ordain *in Sweden,* it must have been the *Ordens Biskop,* who was a regular consecrated Bishop, *though* a court chaplain.

No ministers from Norway and Denmark are, in practice, ever received. An infinitesimal number of ministers of the Augustana Synod have been beneficed, but some of these had been already ordained in Sweden. Otherwise, none have become rectors. The Swedish Church does not disparage outside Lutheran ordinations, but can make no practical use of them. The law, *if strictly interpreted,* would forbid their reception without reordination.

Ten Bishops signed that report, none of them, except, perhaps, Bishop McLaren, with first hand knowledge. I was at that time the only member of the House who had first-hand information from Swedish authorities. The additional signers of my report were just like their opponents in that respect, but they didn't sign anything so unfair.

[2] NOTE.—Those ordained *out* of Sweden are believed to have acquired no rights in Sweden. Surgeons, appointed for the army abroad, were afterward not allowed to practise at home.

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VII.—Superintendents in the Swedish Church.

It will be remembered that when Henry VIII. was engaged in the dissolution and plunder of English monasteries, his chief agent was a layman named *Thomas Cromwell,* whom he appointed *Vicar General,* and who undertook, as such, a general visitation. In Sweden, at about the same date, Gustavus Vasa appointed *George Norman,* also a layman, to be *Superintendent,* with functions like Cromwell's, and he was actively engaged for the king in both visitation and wholesale plunder.

The new Bishops were by no means all favorable to the more drastic measures of Gustavus, who had come to look upon himself not only as a divine agent, but an indispensable divine agent, and one after another they fell into disfavor. Of the older Bishops who survived the *möte* at Westerås, Ingemar of Wexiö sat quiet in his distant and not easily accessible see, and never appeared except by a substitute. He died 1530. Brask of Lincöping fled on the first opportunity. Only *Petrus Magni* was outwardly subservient. Of the three consecrated in 1528, one, the Bishop of Skara, soon fled, Magnus Sommar of Strengnäs was deposed and imprisoned for faithfulness to the old order in 1536, and the Bishop of Åbo resigned in 1545.

There were three Bishops consecrated in 1531 before the Archbishop; Johannes Haquini to Lincöping in Brask's room, Sveno Jacobi Scheningensis to Skara, and Jonas Boetii to Wexiö. Both Bishop Johannes and Bishop Sveno resigned,

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the first very soon, the latter after 13 years. Jonas of Wexiö lived on plagued by war and feud until 1553.

The Archbishop was temporarily out of favor with the King on account of his resistance to the King's proposed marriage with his deceased queen's niece.

Bothvid Suneson, a favorite of the king, was consecrated to Strengnäs in 1536, but even he was deposed, and only recovered his see after the king's death.

Meanwhile the king not only was using Norman in a high-handed way, but was dividing the old dioceses into two or three and appointing *Ordinarii* to the new places. He was very much afraid of the power of the regularly elected Bishops, and no forms of election appear to have been observed in the case of these *ordinarii.* It is not known whether they were consecrated or not. *Anjou* conjectures that they were. One settled in *Gefle* is reported to have made a visitation of Norrland, and is styled Bishop, but the king does not seem to have called them so. However, his death put an end to this indiscriminate division, and four validly consecrated Bishops at least overlived him. The one superintendency which seems to have survived him with a show of continuity was *Calmar.*

At the time when Gustavus came to the throne, Sweden proper had six dioceses and Finland one; in order, Upsala, Lincöping, Skara, Strengnäs, Westerås, and Wexiö, with Åbo in Finland. Gustavus erected another diocese in Finland, Wiborg, and a superintendency, which was short lived. There was a Bishop for a while in Reval. But, since then, Sweden has acquired other territory. The Island of Gothland was Danish and was for a long time a battle ground. Skåne, Halland, and Blekinge belonged to Denmark and formed the diocese of Lund. Bohuslän to the west, or Viken, was then out of Sweden, and afterwards contributed to forming the diocese of

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Gotenburg. Wermland belonged nominally to Skara, but was close to Norway and had not had an episcopal visitation for a hundred years. The diocese of Upsala stretched up to the north almost indefinitely, but the Swedes lost Jemtland and Härjsdal from 1570 to 1647, when, on getting them back, they added some territory and made Hernösand a superintendency.

The superintendents of Calmar were first far from independent and were little more than deans under the Bishops of Lincöping and Wexiö. The first to have full charge and episcopal right was Johannes Petri Ungius, from April 30, 1607. From descriptions of his rights he was very likely consecrated. The fifth to succeeed him is a regular Bishop, from 1678, and there have been Bishops ever since. There is nothing in the Church law to show why superintendents should not have been consecrated, but there is evidence that some of them were not, as they were afterwards explicitly said to have been consecrated to an older see. If *Peter Schomerus,* the last superintendent, was not regularly consecrated, then there is a flaw in the *Priest's* orders of *Olavus Svebilius,* who was afterward Archbishop. But there is none in his episcopal orders.

Carlstad, formerly *Mariestad,* represents *Wermland,* the outlying border part of Skara diocese, described above as so long neglected. It owes its foundation to Duke Charles, afterward Charles IX. Its superintendent did not probably at first have power to ordain. It was raised to full diocesan dignity with a Bishop in 1772.

Gotenburg or *Göteborg* was only a superintendency for 45 years, from 1620 to 1665. It was largely conquered territory. It has had a Bishop ever since.

Hernösand was a superintendency from 1647 to 1772. It was largely territory recovered from Norway. One of the superintendents, at least, may have been consecrated, as he had

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been named Bishop of Gotenburg, and is called *Bishop Wallin* in the *Life of Nils Grubbe*. He is not to be confounded with two other Bishops named Wallin.

Gotland was essentially Danish and debatable ground for years, now with a Danish, now a Swedish superintendent. It took a long time to make it Swedish. Its superintendent became a Bishop in 1772.

Lund was a Danish diocese until 1658. Its last Danish superintendent, called a Bishop, received a seat in the Swedish riksdag, and remained in undisturbed possession of his see. The rest of the clergy were protected by treaty rights, but nevertheless strong efforts, affecting the personnel, were made to make the diocese Swedish as fast as possible. The next Bishop was in Swedish Orders.

There is no precise parallel for all this in English Church history. It is true that the Bishops sent to Scotland in 1610 had not the right and perhaps no inclination to extrude Presbyterian incumbents who did not desire episcopal ordination, and that therefore universally valid orders could only have come about after a long period, had this episcopate met with success. It is also true that the English government protects an established Presbyterianism in Scotland as much as an established Episcopacy in England, but the ministers of one do not pass freely into the other. In Sweden, on the contrary, there was but one national Church. But there is no necessary theological implication as far as I can observe. The law identified the superintendents with Bishops in more than one place. It was the practice that was defective. The inconsistency worked itself out, and ceased in 1772. There were economic reasons in the way of an earlier change; there was some politics. I do not attempt to defend it. If there were *now* superintendencies, presided over by men not consecrated Bishops, it would render

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our present task more difficult; but Sweden has now been free from the major results of such an anomaly for 137 years.

The one question which can arise now is about the effect upon the succession in former days. If *Svebilius* was ordained in Calmar in 1658 as reported, and *if* his ordainer was not consecrated himself, which I suppose no one knows, then *Svebilius* was not in orders at all, according to the majority of Anglicans, *until he was made Bishop.* And *if Matthias Steuchius* was ordained by his father in Hernösand, which is possible, but not necessarily true, then he was in the same case until he became Bishop of Lund. These things would not invalidate the succession, however; and it is not at all believable that either of these Archbishops, any way, consecrated other Bishops without assistance. Custom and law would prevent, and there was no need.

I may conclude with a correction of a previous article. In that I gave the line of Swedish consecrations. I am obliged to amend it in three points. The consecrator of *Olaus Martini* in 1607 was *not Petrus Benedicti,* although he was the senior in standing. The Upsala clergy know the consecrator to have been *Peter Kenicius.* As others had been summoned for a prior date, there were probably assistants.

I have now what I lacked: documentary evidence that *Jonas Magni Wexionis* was the consecrator of Archbishop *Lennaeus.* As this happened in Stockholm at a Riksdag, three other Bishops were probably present and assisting.

I must also amend the statement, and am glad to be able to do so, that *Matthias Steuchius* consecrated his son and successor *Jöns* to Linköping. *Matthias* had already died when the consecration took place, though the nomination was of long standing, and it was performed by *Jesper Svedberg,* Bishop of Skara.

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Petrus Kenicius was himself consecrated by *Abrahamus Angermannus,* and *he* by *Petrus Benedicti.* So we here insert two links, in Svedberg's case one, and drop one. Briefly therefore the line is as follows:

Petrus Magni, Westerås.
Laurentius Petri, Upsala.
J. J. Westrogothus, Skara.
Petrus Benedicti, Lincöping.
Abr. Angermannus, Upsala.
Petrus Kenicius, Skara.
O. Martini, Upsala.
L. P. Gothus, Upsala (from Strengnäs).
Jonas Magni, Skara.
Johannes Canuti Lennaeus, Upsala.
J. Bazius, Jr., Upsala. (Wexiö first.)
O. Svebilius, Lincöping and Upsala.
E. Benzelius, Upsala.
J. Svedberg, Skara.
J. Steuchius, Upsala.
C. F. Mennander, Abo, Upsala.
U. von Troil, Lincöping, Upsala.
J. A. Lindblom, Lincöping, Upsala.
C. von Rosenstein, Lincöping, Upsala.
J. O. Wallin, Ordensbiskop, Upsala.
H. O. Holmström, Strengnäs, Upsala.
H. Reuterdahl, Lund, Upsala.
A. N. Sundberg, Carlstad, Upsala.
J. A. Ekman, present Archbishop.

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VIII.—Assisting Bishops in Swedish Consecrations.

THE consecration of the three Bishops in 1528 is supposed to have been by *Petrus Magni* alone. The Bishop of Wexiö, however, was alive and in the kingdom. It is not known that he did *not* act.

The consecration of the three Bishops in 1531 was by *Petrus Magni* and *Magnus Sommar*. The Archbishop, a month later, probably by *all* the Bishops, assisting *Petrus Magni*.

Bothvid Sunonis of Strengnäs is the only Bishop named in the consecration of *Agricola* and *Juusten* to the Finnish dioceses in 1554. It is not known who else acted. The Bishop of Westerås was not far away, and there was easy water approach.

The consecrators of Archbishop *Laurentius Petri Gothus* were *two*, the Bishops of Åbo and Wexiö.

When *J. J. Westrogothus* was consecrated to Skara in 1570, there were the following Bishops who could have assisted the Archbishop:

Olav Nic. Helsingus, Strengnäs.
Joh. Nicolaus Ofeg, Westerås.
Nic. Canuti, Wexiö.
Paulus Juusten, Åbo.

When *Petrus Benedicti* was consecrated in 1581 to Westerås, *J. J. Westrogothus* could have had for assistants:

Helsingus of Strengnäs.
And. Laur. Bothniensis of Wexiö.

Henricus Canuti of Åbo was living, but is sometimes called only superintendent. He probably did not act, as he was opposed to the

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ancient ceremonies. *Martinus Olavi* was also in retirement, out of favor.

Abrahamus Angermannus had *four* consecrators, *Petrus Benedicti* at their head (1594).

Angermannus, at the consecration of Peter *Kenicius* to Skara in 1596, could have had to join him:

Petrus Benedicti of Linköping.
Petrus Jonae of Strengnäs.
Olavus Stephani Bellinus of Westerås.
Ericus Erici of Åbo.

Olaus Martini was consecrated by *Peter Kenicius.* There were then living and able to act ((1601):

Petrus Benedicti (probably did not act).
Petrus Jonae of Strengnäs.
Bellinus of Westerås.
Petrus J. Angermannus of Wexiö.
Ericus Erici of Åbo.

Laurentius Paulinus Gothus and *J. Kylander* were consecrated in 1607 by Archbishop Olaus Martini, with possible assistance of:

Petrus Kenicius of Skara.
Bellinus of Westerås.
Angermannus of Wexiö.
Ericus Erici of Åbo.

At the consecration of *Jonas Magni* to Skara, 1641, the Archbishop *Laurentius Paulinus* could have had the help of:

J. P. Gothus of Linköping.
J. J. Zebrosynthus of Strengnäs.
J. Rudbeckius of Westerås.
Nicholaus Krok of Wexiö.
Isaac Rothovius of Åbo.

In 1647 Jonas Magni Wexionis of Skara was Lennaeus' consecrator. There were three other possible assistants (and there

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were three other Bishops consecrated the same day). The assistants could have been:

Johannes Matthiae of Strengnäs.
J. B. Rothovius of Åbo.
Petrus J. Bjugg of Wiborg.

It was at a Riksdag. They were not likely to be absent. There were 6 Bishops in 1667, 7 in 1678, 5 in 1687, 7, and perhaps 9, in 1702, 6 in 1730, 6 in 1740, 10 in 1757, 12 in 1787, 13 in 1786. After the loss of Finland there were 9 in 1809, 11 in 1824. There is no possible failure since.

RELATIONSHIPS IN THE SWEDISH EPISCOPATE.

To this day, in Sweden, the names of the clergy you meet will instantly remind the visitor, who has read any of the records, of the great men of the past. The extent to which the episcopal families intermarried has considerable bearing on the probabilities that all things were "done decently and in order." The Swedes, particularly the higher classes, are an extremely and punctiliously ceremonious people, much more so than any American or Englishman can easily imagine without experience. The Episcopal families became a sort of nobility, and were frequently ennobled. The first reforming Archbishop had married a cousin of the king. It would be hardly useful to give *all* the various relationships or connections, but some of the chief ones should be mentioned. I have described a meeting with *Regimentspastor* Elis Schroederheim. Let me begin with his family.

Its prominence in the Church begins with Bishop *Herman* Schroeder, who entered on the see of Calmar in 1729. Of his sons, *Göran Claes* Schroeder became Bishop of Carlstad, and *Carl Gustav* Schroeder became Bishop of Calmar. Dr. G. C. Schroeder, who was Bishop of Carlstad, had three sons who were made noblemen and received the name of *Schroederheim.*

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Of these *Herman* Schroederheim became Bishop of Carlstad. A daughter, *Ulrica,* married a Bishop of Westerås, *Flodin.* (The other sons were, one a Governor, and the other a Judge). There are thus five Bishops in this family, and they are still honorably respected in the Church.

But this is comparatively nothing. Let us take the *Benzelius* connection.

Eric Benzelius, *senior,* became Bishop of Strengnäs in 1687 and Archbishop in 1700. Three of his sons became Archbishops after him. They were *Eric, Jacob,* and *Henric.* Two of his daughters married Bishops: Margaretha, Bishop *Nezelius* of Gothenburg; Christina, Bishop *Esberg* of Wexiö. Two grandsons were Bishops, *Carl Jesper,* Bishop of Strengnäs, and *Lars Benzelstjerna,* Bishop of Westerås. Two daughters of the Bishop of Skara, Jesper *Svedberg,* married into the Benzelius family. *Ulrica,* daughter of Eric the younger, married Bishop *Filenius* of Lincöping, Margaretha, Jacob's daughter, married Bishop *Engeström* of Lund; *Henric,* married a daughter of Bishop Torsten *Rudén. Carl Jesper* married a granddaughter of Superintendent *Arnell* of Carlstad. Archbishop Beronius married a Benzelius, descended from Eric, Sr. A daughter of Lars Benzelstjerna of Westerås married Dr. *Taube,* Pastor Primarius and Ordensbiskop. One of the Engeström daughters, a great-granddaughter of Eric the elder, married Bishop Hesslén of Lund. I haven't the *latest* information. Fifteen Bishops and one superintendent in this family connection, and another, Pastor Primarius, not mentioned above.

But this can be surpassed.

The first Archbishop, *Laurentius Petri,* had two daughters, one who became the wife of *two Archbishops* in succession, *Laurentius Petri Gothus* and *Andreas Laurentii Bothniensis;* and the other was the wife of another Archbishop, *Abrahamus*

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Angermannus. The second Archbishop was an uncle of Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus Gothus, whose daughter married Bishop *Emporagrius;* and his granddaughter Bishop *Brodinus* first, and Bishop *Haquin Spegel* afterwards. Spegel's daughter married Archbishop *Jöns Steuchius,* a son of Archbishop *Matthias,* and a grandson of Superintendent *Peter* of Hernösand. Peter Steuchius was married to a daughter of Bishop *Terserus.* Matthias' daughter married Bishop *Barchius;* a granddaughter, Bishop *Rhyzelius,* and another, Bishop *Kjörning.* Further, Archbishop *Peter Kenicius* was connected on his mother's side with Archbishop Andreas Laurentii Bothniensis, and two of *his* daughters married Bishops, *Laurelius* and *Lennaeus.* Lennaeus' daughter married Superintendent *Brunnius* of Gothenburg, and another, Bishop *Lithman.* Further, *Martinus Olavi* of Linköping and his son *Olaus Martini* of Upsala belonged to the same family, *Bure,* as Kenicius and Andreas Laurentii.

Bishop Laurelius' daughter married Bishop *Nils Rudbeckius,* one of whose brothers became a Bishop and one a superintendent. Nils had a daughter married to Bishop *Kalsenius.* Nils' father, *Johannes,* was also a Bishop, husband to a daughter of Bishop *Zebrosynthus,* whose other daughter married Archbishop L. *Stigelius.* Bishop Zebrosynthus was the son-in-law of *Nicolaus O. Bothniensis,* who was appointed Archbishop of Upsala prior to Olaus Martini but never consecrated. Nicolaus O. Bothniensis and Andreas Laurentii were also otherwise related than in the roundabout way indicated. Bishop *Helsingus* of Strengnäs also married into the *Bure* family. A son-in-law, Bishop-elect *Gadolenus* of Skara, died before consecration. I am by no means sure that all the possible relationships are worked out. I could have brought in Zebrosynthus another way, as he was a *Bure.*

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This makes 32 persons of episcopal or quasi episcopal dignity connected together by blood or marriage. And the influence of this family was felt in Upsala, Strengnäs, Westerås, Lincöping, Åbo, Hernösand, Gothenburg, Skara, Wiborg, from 1531 to 1778. The *Benzelius* connection was in power from 1687 to 1811. However these families got their power, whether from the first connection with royalty or not, there is no doubt it has worked as a conservative force.

I might add that there were twelve Bishops or superintendents in the *Svebilius* connection, five in the *Gezelius*, four in the *Baazius*, four in the *Troilius*, four in the *Wallins*, four in *Sveno Svenonis*. The single intermarriages are too numerous to mention, nor have I given all the fathers and sons.

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IX.—Notes on the Practice of Confirmation in the Swedish Church. Part I.

THE dawn of the Reformation in Sweden found the Bishops actively engaged in political intrigues, having strong castles, great revenues, and armed retainers. There was frequent complaint that they neglected their spiritual functions. There had been, it is asserted as history, no episcopal visitation of *Vermland,* a province of the diocese of Skara, for about one hundred years before the first superintendent was appointed. This would carry the known neglect of that part of Sweden nearly fifty years back beyond the first reformation movement.

If confirmation, therefore, had been generally performed it must have been administered by priests deputized to do so, and the element of chrism have seemed to be the most essential ceremony connected with it. It may, however, be considered certain that it could not have lapsed entirely until after the death of the bishops of whose devotion to the old order there is little doubt. The practice between 1535 and 1575 may be regarded as by no means certain or uniform. As unction in Orders persisted until much later, there must have been the same use in confirmation.

But the new hand-books did not contain a Form, and the *kyrko-ordning* of 1571 has nothing about it. It is evident that the disposition was to regard everything connected with confirmation, except the renewal of baptismal vows, as so closely bound up with baptism that no new ceremonies were absolutely

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necessary. These baptismal ceremonies were more numerous than we have retained. When new deliberations began over the matter the confirmation of *vows* received the principal emphasis.

The first post-Reformation form is found in a document of 1575 called *Ordinantia Approbata Consensu Omnium Episcoporum.*

It provided for confirmation by the Bishop *or* his deputy, and is as follows:

THE FOURTH ARTICLE.

Of the Examination and Blessing of the Young which is commonly called Confirmation.

¶ Although we find that there has been great abuse in this ceremony, the action is in itself good, and should by no means be dropped on account of its abuse, for it serves to further godliness both among old and young. Therefore, hereafter, the youth shall be allowed to come forward to be catechized and proved, whether they have rightly grasped the articles of the faith; can rightly read and understand the points and divisions of the catechism, so that it may be seen how diligent have been parents and pastors, as well as godfathers and godmothers who made promises for the child in baptism, that the youth should be well instructed.

And when any shall be neglectful and inefficient in the matter, both pastors, parents, godfathers, and godmothers should be disciplined and earnestly admonished that they may so amend in this, that children may be better taught in the faith and how they should live.

And let such examination be made annually by the Bishop, as often as he visits in each Church, or let him send out his official or dean or other wise and pious men, when the Bishop for any hindrance cannot do it himself.

Then shall every pastor, when he learns that the Bishop or visitors will make the annual visit, sometime before specially instruct the youth in the Creed, and prepare them to be heard in the

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Catechism by the Bishop or those sent out by him. When this examination has occurred openly before the congregation, the Bishop or visitor shall bid the congregation to prayer for the young, and after the prayer he shall strengthen and bless those who have been examined and have showed themselves pious and diligent by the laying-on of hands, that others may be thereby awakened to diligence and piety.

¶ *The Prayer shall be this:*

Almighty and merciful God, Heavenly Father, Thou who beginnest, confirmest, and perfectest all that is good in us, we pray Thee for these children whom Thou hast regenerated in baptism, taken into Thy Church, and now so far illuminated that they have themselves understood Thy grace and bounty and their redemption through Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and have confessed it before Thy congregation; strengthen this Thy work which Thou hast begun in them; increase in them the grace and power of Thy Holy Spirit, that they may, steadfast to the end, continue in Thy Church in a true faith and obedience to the gospel, and not allow themselves to be led astray from the truth they have confessed, by fleshly lust or false doctrine. Give them graces that according to Thy will in Christ Jesus, who is the Head of us all, they may grow up and come to a good and ripe age in all wisdom, holiness, and righteousness, so that they may always know, heartily love, worship, and supplicate Thee and Thy dear Son with the Holy Ghost, one true God, and in word and deed seriously and fruitfully confess, honor, and praise Thee before others. And as Thou hast promised to give us what we pray for in Thy Son's Name, look now mercifully upon them on whom in Thy Name we lay hands, and thereby comfort them and remind them of Thy Hand's defence and protection, of the strengthening of the Holy Spirit, of Thy merciful help and assistance toward a Christian life. Grant that they may increase in the true faith, be wise, and trustful, that Thou wilt always hold Thy holy Hand over them, keep them from all evil, guide and accompany them to all good, and never take Thy Holy Spirit from them, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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¶ *Afterward the Bishop or visitor shall lay hands upon them and say:*

God strengthen thee with the Holy Spirit in a right faith, in evangelical knowledge and obedience, to a Christian life, to the honor of God, to thy own salvation, and for a good example and amendment of others, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *Thereafter, for the closing, may be sung a psalm.*

This order of confirmation was used in Sweden down to Upsala Möte. As its upholders had been the same as those who used King John's Liturgy, the "Red Book" so called, it fell naturally with that book, and whatever ceremonies were used in admitting to first communion were thereafter either such as seemed good to the parochial clergy, and hence were either none, or not always or everywhere alike, or were gradually brought in at the suggestion of various Bishops in their respective dioceses. In the main, Sweden lagged behind other Lutheran bodies in the general acceptance of confirmation ceremonies, and when taken up the main idea was confirmation of vows, as stated above.

We have a suggested form for confirmation from the pen of Bishop Laurelius of Westerås, which shows that admiration for the full rite long held its own. Bishop Laurelius was born in 1585 and became Bishop in 1647. The manuscript has been edited by Dean A. H. Lundström, and is in Bishop Laurelius' own handwriting, on fly leaves of his form for visitations. Dean Lundström does not doubt that it was really used. The connection in which the manuscript was found indicates to me that the Bishop did use it. The order is as follows:

Afterward, when the youth has been heard in the articles of the catechism either by the Bishop or his official, *idque publice in ecclesia,* the visitor or Bishop shall bid the congregation to prayer for the youth, and after the prayer, he shall strengthen

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and bless by the laying-on of hands those who have done well and piously, that others may be awakened to faith and piety, which was formerly called *Confirmatio, hoc est fermelse,* but now "The Examination and Blessing of the Young."

The prayer that follows is exactly the same as in the *Ordinantia approbata* of 1575, and also the sentence used at the laying-on of hands. This resemblance seems to indicate that others among the Bishops may have handed down the practice. It is not at all impossible that Laurelius himself may have been confirmed by this form, as he was 8 years old at Upsala Möte's date.

Baelter, who wrote about 1762, was of the opinion that confirmation after the above form was more general about 1650 than in Laurelius' own official circle, but thinks that the words of the Church Law of 1686, which follow, did away with it. He cites that the law required when the customary ceremonies had been used at baptism, that "no other so-called and sometimes used *Christening-act* shall be permitted." But Archbishop H. Benzelius thought this referred entirely to unction, which had here and there persisted in practice though no longer printed in the prescribed form after 1541. Priests used their old books until they got new ones, and this was frequently not soon, as books were scarce, expensive, and difficult to obtain.

There is another version of Bishop Laurelius' manuscript confirmation ritual which speaks of children as "grafted into the congregation" by that rite, which naturally gave offence. But the version which Dean Lundström has brought to light has no such words and is open to no such objection. It may well be questioned whether this was not a corruption by another less scientific hand.

A contemporary of Bishop Laurelius of Westerås was

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Bishop Johannes Matthiae of Strengnäs, who published before 1648 his *Idea boni ordinis in ecclesia,* with a part specially dealing with confirmation. His diocesan *prästmöte* in 1648 expressed a favorable view of at least part of what he considered desirable. Bishop Cornelius, the Church historian, considered the use of a special service to have been possibly considerable in the seventeenth century, but for the strongest efforts to obtain Church sanction we must wait until Bishop Serenius' time, who became Bishop of Strengnäs in 1763. Much earlier in the century he had been chaplain at the Swedish legation in England and had been much impressed by confirmation as practised there. He had become pastor in Nyköping in 1735 and brought in there the public examination of children before first Communion. There were discussions on the subject in the Riksdag of 1751, but not all who favored something of the sort were willing to run any risks that might arise in attempting full legislation. Archbishop H. Benzelius was among these. In the Riksdag of 1760-62 we find statements made that confirmation was practised in Skara under Bishop Hallenius' authority, and that it was pretty general in Lund, and Cornelius believes it to have been in use in all dioceses. After this the agitation for an authorized service grew stronger and stronger until it resulted in the added Chapter IV. of the Hand-book of 1809-11. That revision was the conclusion of a long effort, and it may be well to quote from the draft handbook of 1799 what was then urged, and was probably in general use, or else something very like it.

It is further of interest that the confirmation customs of Denmark would have been in use in the diocese of Lund, when incorporated into Sweden in 1658, and would not have been easily laid aside, though they were ultimately interrupted in various localities, as new incumbents who had not the Danish

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tradition came in. This is proved from the fact that where the common practice of some form of confirmation was made the basis for an attempt to adopt a common ceremony, late in the eighteenth century, confirmation, though practised in Lund, was possibly less general there than in some other dioceses.

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X.—Notes on the Practice of Confirmation in the Swedish Church. Part II.

THE ground work for the present form for confirmation is first fully worked out in a report of the Ecclesiastical Commission provided for in 1792-3. The report is dated June 14, 1799, and is signed by the celebrated Uno von Troil, who was well known in England and was an admirer of the English Church.

The proposed form is long, chiefly in the rubrics, but it is nevertheless very important.

CHAPTER IV.

What should be the order when the youth shall for the first time partake of the Lord's Supper?

¶ At the time which for each place, circumstance, and condition is proved most convenient, a notice is given by the pastor in the pulpit that all parents, foster parents, and householders, who have children and servants come to the age when they should be instructed and prepared to receive their first Communion in the approaching year, should, at a set time, announce them to the pastor. They who neglect this may wait until the next year, because otherwise the clergy may be continually hindered in their work by new comers.

When the announcement is made and the appointed time is fulfilled, the children are notified through a new proclamation of the day when they are to present themselves.

Then the instruction begins at once and should follow the catechism received in our Church, or which may be further ordered

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for general use, wherein it is important that the teachers in a congregation should agree on the most serviceable way both of enlightening the understanding and shaping the young heart.

When the youth are found to have the requisite knowledge in the elements of Christianity, so that they can not only answer orally and literally, but also show that they understand although simply, yet sufficiently, what has been taught and declared and can use it in their own self examination and improvement, the pastor appoints a set day for the confirmation act. Of this, announcement is made from the pulpit, that the youth of the congregation who are now going to receive their first Communion, are coming such and such a day to be publicly catechized in the choir in our Christian doctrine, to make their profession of faith and renew their promises in Holy Baptism, with the request that the members of the congregation, especially parents, foster parents, and householders, will be present to support the children in their weighty action with faithful prayers, and for their own part to derive from the sacred rite the edification which is intended and should be drawn from it.

On the appointed day, and after all the candidates are gathered in the choir around the altar, the Confirmation act is begun by some suitable psalm, for example, *O God, who never will despise, The tender voices that may rise*, etc., or some other.

When the psalm (hymn) is ended, the pastor, or the priest who has instructed the children, makes them an address from the altar, short but emphatic, simple but moving, when they are reminded what inexpressibly great mercy God has showed them in baptism; what a holy covenant they then entered with God; how this covenant comprehends all of our Christian confidence and duty, and how necessary it is for them to renew the promises which they made in baptism, and to be steadfast in that covenant all the days of their life. From this finally a leading up is made to the public recitation they are to make in this or a similar form:

This, dear children in Christ, this is the purpose of the instruction which has been given you, of the knowledge which you obtained in the teaching of our Christian faith. Your teachers have spared

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no pains therein. Their conscience bears them this testimony: that they have not omitted to tell you the whole counsel of God concerning your salvation. You should now confess the holy faith to which you have been pledged, when you were by baptism received to God's covenant of grace. You must be ready according to the apostle's admonition, to answer what ground you have for your hope of salvation. I will assist you thereto, and now put to you the questions in the principal doctrines of our Christian faith to which, before this Christian assembly, you should give clear answers.

¶ *Hereupon begins the catechising, which is so ordered that the principal parts of the doctrine of our salvation and of the creed can be gone through connectedly but as briefly as possible.*

When the hearing is finished, the youth are addressed from the altar as follows:

Dear children, This is the doctrine that Jesus Christ and His apostles have given us in the Holy Scriptures. This is the faith which our Christian congregation confesses. This is the faith to which you have been baptized. I now put you the questions you have here before God and this Christian assembly as witnesses at the last day, to answer and confess.

Do you acknowledge this doctrine to be divine truth, the right way to salvation?

¶ *Let the children answer:* Yes.

Then the priest continues—

So give now yourselves your profession, and renew the promises you made in baptism.

Do you believe in God the Father Almighty, etc.? Ans. Yes.

Do you believe in Jesus Christ his only Son, etc.? Ans. Yes.

Do you believe in the Holy Ghost, etc.? Ans. Yes.

Will you also observe the duties to which this confession of faith binds each and every professing Christian to love the Lord God with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the mind, and your neighbor as yourselves? Ans. Yes.

Is your purpose sincere to be faithful and obedient to your God and Saviour all the days of your life? Ans. Yes.

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Do you promise also to call upon God daily for grace, and therewith carefully use the means He has given you to strengthen you in faith and a true Christianity? Ans. Yes.

Will you confirm all these promises and assurances with Jesus' Holy Communion? Ans. Yes.

After these questions are answered together by the children with Yes, the minister (teacher) encourages them with a short address, or as follows:

Dear children! Your baptismal vows are now renewed, renewed before an all-knowing and ever-present God. Never forget how holy these promises are. The Lord who has heard them of your mouth requires that you keep them. As many as have heard you make them shall one day witness against you if you break them; yes, that unanswerable witness, your conscience, shall also witness against you. O my beloved, may you never break, intentionally break, these promises! May this day always be to you an annual feast, a weighty day of examination, when you alone in quietness meditate upon your promises, and examine yourselves how far you have kept or broken them! May all your life, all your powers be from this hour sanctified to God, sanctified to His will and service in Christ Jesus!

Dear Saviour, gentle Lord Jesus Christ! These children are Thine; their moved hearts know the worth of the salvation which Thou hast through their redemption prepared for them; but they are weak: strengthen them with Thy power. They walk through a dangerous world; lead them according to Thy counsel. They come unto all kinds of temptation; help them to fight and overcome. O Lord Jesus Christ, take not Thine Hand away from these Thy children. Prepare them through Thy Spirit to a blessed reception of Thy Holy Supper, and let this their first Communion make so deep and powerful an impression on their hearts, that they may never, never forget Thee, O Jesus.

O Lord, vouchsafe to hear this petition! With united hearts we pray thee; Hear us, merciful Lord God.

Afterward the priest and candidates (*skriftebarn*) kneel down and the priest reads:

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Our Father, etc.

¶ *Then the priest rises, while the children still kneel, and he reads over them the blessing, thus:*

The Lord bless you and keep you, etc.

After the children have risen up, the whole service concludes with a hymn, *Jesus is my friend, the best,* etc., or *In thy grace, O Father dear,* or some other suitable hymn.

On the Sunday after, when the children are to receive the Holy Communion together, a short and suitable address is held from the pulpit, etc.

(The rubric and prayers following have more to do with the Communion than with the confirmation, and being very long are omitted.)

This report, signed by Archbishop von Troil, is, with a very few words changed in the preliminary rubric, the precise service adopted in the Hand-book of 1809-11. Those words changed simply replace the expression "Confirmation Act" with the words *"Förhör"* or "catechizing which should precede first Communion." It is unnecessary therefore to repeat what has gone before.

The reports of the Revision committees of 1854 and 1856 present a somewhat abbreviated form, chiefly because the addresses to the candidates are there left entirely to the priest conducting the service and no forms are printed, and it is recommended that the catechizing do not last over an hour; and if the number of candidates is so large that to give each one a question would make the service too long, a previous private catechizing is suggested. The word "confirmation" also reappears in a footnote where, adopted later, it still remains.

The form of the introductory statement "This is the doctrine," etc., becomes slightly changed, but more to modernize language than for any other discoverable reason. And the first

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question, "Do you acknowledge this doctrine to be divine truth," etc., is dropped from the accepted book of 1881.

The final prayer in the edition of 1881 is somewhat changed into the following form:

Almighty and merciful God, Heavenly Father, Thou who beginnest and perfectest all that is good in us. We pray Thee for these children, whom Thou hast regenerated through Thy baptism, and hast brought them through Thy Word to such knowledge that they have now been able to confess Thy grace and mercy in Christ Jesus our Lord before this congregation: accomplish the good work Thou hast begun in them. Teach their hearts all the more to know the value of the salvation which Thy only begotten Son has prepared for them through His redemption. They are weak; strengthen Thou them with Thy power. They shall walk in a dangerous world, guide Thou them after Thy counsel. They come into various temptations, help Thou them to fight and conquer. Give unto their hearts the Spirit of Thy Wisdom and strength which is the Spirit of Thy Son. Prepare them by the same Spirit for a happy reception of the Holy Communion, and let their first Communion and all their other Communions strengthen and comfort their hearts. Comfort them in all need and distress with the peace and joy of Thy Spirit, and help them without turning aside to watch and pray and be ready, that they may, with all the faithful, confidently await the coming of Thy dear Son, and evermore know Thee with the same Thy Son and the Holy Spirit, love thee, and before all the world with word and deed confess and praise Thee. Amen.

(Where similar prayers or the same sentences in the corresponding prayers are more than once translated, I have not thought it necessary to harmonize my translations verbally. The ideas are better gained by having my free renderings *all* preserved).

THE PRESENT SERVICE.

The present service for confirmation in the Swedish Church (unless altered since 1894) is as follows. The office is not al-

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ways identified by foreign students because the word confirmation does not appear in the title, only in the notes. Nevertheless, the chapter of the Hand-book "On Youths' First Communion," is always called confirmation in speaking or writing of it. At the close of the public catechising the priest says:

Dear children, you have now briefly evidenced your insight into the doctrine which our Lord Jesus Christ has revealed to us in His Holy Word, and which is taught and confessed in His Church. This is the faith in which you have been baptized. I admonish you now before God and this Christian assembly to answer and confess:

Do you believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth? Answer. Yes.

Do you believe in Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; descended into hell (*dödsriket*); on the third day rose again from the dead; ascended into heaven; sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; cometh again therefrom to judge the quick and the dead? Answer. Yes.

Do you believe in the Holy Ghost; one, holy universal Church, the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the dead, and an eternal life?

Answer. Yes.

Is it your serious purpose, in the power of baptismal grace, to continue firm in this faith until the end, and as a follower of Christ, to walk in newness of life, so that you love the Lord your God above all things and your neighbor as yourself?

Answer. Yes.

Will you therefore, by God's help, with watchfulness and prayer diligently use His Word and faithfully seek Him in His holy Supper?

Answer. Yes.

¶ *After the children have unitedly answered these questions with* Yes, *the priest says:*

Dear children! You have now with your own mouths given your confession of faith and your vows of faithfulness before the all-

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knowing and omnipresent God. The Lord grant to you His grace that all your life and all your powers may be sanctified to His will and service in Christ Jesus. Amen.

¶ *Here the children kneel down, and the priest continues:*

(Added about 1873 to the 1809 form).

The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the riches of His glory, grant you to be strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inward man, and filled with all the fulness of God. Amen.

¶ *The priest kneels down turned to the children and prays:*

Our Father, *etc.*

Thereafter follows a long prayer already previously given, and the benediction. The Holy Communion is not usually celebrated at this time, not until the following Sunday, after the children have made their general confession (*skriftermål.*)

It will be observed that there is no laying-on of hands *prescribed.* Many clergymen use it however with the sentence beginning "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." Some actually touch the candidates, others extend the hands over the class. Bishops do not, as a rule, confirm, but sometimes do. Inquiry develops many cases where they have done so, and by the laying-on of hands.

A strong argument for the restoration of the laying-on of hands is made by the revision commission of 1894, but they did not introduce any rubric.

The "laying-on of hands" occurs, however, in *every baptism.* In the regular service, where children are baptized in Church, this "laying-on of hands" occurs *before* the pouring of water. Where children have been baptized at home, this "laying-on of hands" occurs in Church, when the baptism is certified. The accompanying form in either case is the Lord's Prayer. Further, though there is nowhere any rubric directing it, the almost universal practice at the actual first Communion is for the celebrant to lay hands on those who then first receive the

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consecrated elements. This is the testimony of Sweden's greatest men.

The authority explicitly to confirm is now given to every priest at his ordination, written in the *prästbref* which is handed to him, as part of the ceremony.

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XI.—Episcopal Elections in Sweden.

OBJECTIONS have been made from English sources against the practical sole appointment of Bishops in Sweden by the king. The best possible answer which can be made to various statements about such appointment is to give the law in full so far as applicable.

Chapter 20 of the Church Law is headed,

Of the Election of Bishops.

"§I. When a diocese becomes vacant, the chapter shall notify us, and after our permission and commandment with the clergy on their (oath and) conscience name such men as they think to be most serviceable for this office for God's Church and the diocese, and most fitted in life and doctrine, they who fear God, have a good reputation, are honest and orthodox, hate covetousness, and at academies (*gymnasia*) or in other important offices have made themselves learned and deserving." (Words in prior parenthesis seem not now in force.)

The Royal ordinance of May 30, 1759, goes on to describe the election:

"The consistory must notify the *prostar* (best rendered *deans*) of the episcopal election so early that they can call together the electors at the appointed day, at the place in the deanery which is proper and is named by the dean, and on the same day the election should take place in the consistory. The dean, or if he is dead or sick, the oldest rector in that deanery, shall call together not only those who are deans over their own congregations, but also all rectors and army chaplains residing in the deanery, with the chaplains from each parish, and where there are several chaplains, then the senior

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chaplain in the congregation with the vicars who occupy any vacant church. When these priests assemble, they should go to church and have prayers, and proper representation should be made of the importance and seriousness of the business in hand. At the election the voting shall be by ballot, and each elector shall name three with their names and offices. The ballots should be closed but not signed. Those who for sickness or other proper hindrance cannot be present, may send in their ballots in an envelope to the dean, with a superscription that it is their vote, on the day appointed for balloting, and when they have assembled these votes shall be taken from the envelopes and laid with the others without being read. Of those present some should be appointed who shall receive the ballots with the dean, when a record is made of them, and see that there are no more ballots than there should be, and they are opened in the presence of all. And it shall be noted in the record who voted as present and who in absence, how many ballots were collected, and the names of those voted for with other necessary circumstances. And the record should be examined before the electors separate, signed by them all and afterwards sent in by the dean to the consistory, with the inscription, Episcopal Election. But the ballots which are already recorded need not be sent in. And if at the opening of the ballots any is signed, or does not name three, it is not valid, and let no ballot be valid if sent in from elsewhere than in the deanery. The voting in the consistory should also, as above, occur with closed ballots, on the day appointed for the deaneries, which are not opened before those of the deaneries, and in the diocese where there are (*gymnasia*) all lectors, whether they are clergymen or not, come into the consistory to vote. After the election returns from all the deaneries have come in they should be opened on the next consistory day afterward, when at least four members of the consistory should be present, and a record made and all their names set down who had received votes, and how many each one had. And finally the consistorial ballots are opened and put with the rest, and then those three are nominated who had the most votes. But if two who cannot both be on the list have an

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equal number of votes, one is chosen by lot, and the nomination is sent in by the consistory to the king at the first opportunity, with a signed statement of all who received votes in the diocese and how many each one had. When the Bishop is also vice-chancellor (*i. e.* of the university), the professors come in the same way to vote. Should anyone at the episcopal election be detected in soliciting or securing or persuading votes, being one of the electors (fine mentioned), he shall lose for that time his rights as a voter, and if he has sought votes for himself he shall not only pay a fine but be excluded from the same choice."

Then in 1809, June 6th, comes this Regerings form, §29:

"For Archbishop or Bishops the king names one of the three who are proposed in the manner the Church law determines."

This in modernized language states the same principle as laid down in §3 of the law of 1686.

Everyone will at once notice the likeness between this method and the report of the consultors of a Roman diocese, who send three names to the Pope. But in that case there is no large electorate appealed to. The Swedish method is much more real an election than that, and very much more real than the English system of *congé d'élire*. In the matter of the choice of parochial clergymen there has been a proposal for radical changes before the recent general synod, of whose result I am not yet informed. But the practice up till now has been in different cases as follows:

There is a regular candidacy provided for, the chapter having control of the business. If a rectorship is the vacancy, the candidate must be at least thirty years old. The chapter takes learning, character, and special fitness into account, and then makes a list of three most suitable. Years of service are also taken into account, and university standing, a Ph.D. being equal to three years of service. All three on the list officiate in their order in the vacant church, and a congregational election

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follows through their own qualified electors. Then the results are referred to the Crown for confirmation and appointment. So far, I have set down as much as is necessary to show a real election. When the choice is finally settled there is a public installation by the Bishop or his officials.

There does not seem to be any greater reason for objecting to this than to the varieties of Church appointment existing in the Anglican communion. The Bishop has very real influence throughout with his Cathedral chapter.

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XII.—The Doctrinal Position of the Swedish Church. Part I.

THE Churches of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are called Lutheran Churches. They are constantly grouped together by our newspaper correspondents as "the Scandinavian Churches," and either favorably or unfavorably alluded to in a general way as if standing for practically the same standards, and these standards are believed to be sufficiently clearly stated when they are described as "those of the German Reformation," or "the heretical opinions of Luther." The writer has before him an article in the *Church Times* of December 3, 1909, by the Rev. J. Embry of Gloucester, which is a condensed embodiment of perhaps all the sweeping denunciation of Lutheranism and the Swedish Church which he has seen in detail anywhere else. To examine these statements may therefore result in a clearer idea than our clergy commonly have of the actual teaching of the particular Lutherans in whom we are now most interested. For, it should be remembered that there are many variations of Lutheranism, and there are different versions of the Augsburg Confession. There are warring Lutheran synods, and Luther himself was not consistent with himself, nor did he write the principal theological document of Lutheranism. It is no more possible to define Lutheranism and its doctrines succinctly and accurately than it is to define Protestantism and its doctrines. And should we find a Lutheran opinion which impresses us as being heretical, we should be very careful with charging such an opinion to any branch of Lutherans with

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whom, or of whom, we are treating, as we may do them grievous injustice.

Mr. Embry has made these specific charges in Section III. of his paper and we may well begin with them. The letters used to discriminate are ours. He says:

"The acceptance of the Augsburg confession means the acceptance of opposite views on fundamental doctrines which are at variance with the teaching of the universal Church. The opinions on (*a*) original sin, (*b*) faith, (*c*) justification, (*d*) the sacraments, (*e*) and the Church are all heretical. (*f*) Their appeal is to Holy Scripture alone, and that only as interpreted by themselves. There is no need to dilate on the Augsburg Confession, nor the way in which all our formularies steer clear of it. It will be sufficient for us to remember that *the Swedish body is in formal heresy.*" (Italics ours.)

Now we submit that it is only fair after such a statement to let the Augsburg Confession speak on its own behalf and lay its statements side by side with the corresponding or most closely related statements of the Thirty-nine Articles. This has already been done by Dr. Olaf Toffteen, but no sufficient number of copies of his work has been circulated. Let us begin with original sin, because it is the first count in Mr. Embry's indictment.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.	THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.
Article IX.	Article II.
Original sin standeth not in the following of *Adam* (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk); but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own	It is further taught, that after Adam's fall, all men who are naturally conceived and born, *are born in sin*, that is; without the fear of God, without trust in God, and with an evil desire; and that this same *sickness* or inherited *defect* is really sin, which also condemns and brings

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nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated; whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek, φρόνημα σαρκός (which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh), is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized; yet the apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

all those to eternal death, who are not born anew of water and the Holy Ghost.

Here are condemned Pelagians and others who deny that original sin is any sin, and who, in order that they may diminish the honor which belongs to Christ for His merits and benefits, assert as if wise, that man can be justified before God for his own natural understanding and his own powers.

There appears no necessary difference between these articles, unless one is desirous of inventing one. Something of what is said by our Article IX., and not said by Article II. of Augsburg was elsewhere said by Luther and is quoted by Melancthon in his Apology, to the effect that the taint of original sin remains after baptism, though *"it is no longer imputed."* In justification of this article Melancthon quotes, beside the Scriptures, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard, and Hugo, and expressly asserts that he had brought in nothing new. It is therefore difficult to see how it can be maintained that the Swedish Church is in formal heresy on this point, the doctrine of original sin. They are agreed with us that there is original sin, that it affects every one, that concupiscence is sin, that baptism is a remedy, but that the taint remains to be afterward eradicated; that original sin deserves God's wrath and condemnation, and that the Pelagians are wrong. The Augsburg article is years older than ours and cannot therefore be charged

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with differing intentionally from us where it does at all differ in verbiage.

(*c*) The doctrine of faith and (*d*) the doctrine of justification. The articles are so connected that they must be treated together.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

Article XI.

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

Article XII.

Of Good Works.

Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of Faith and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet they are pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

Article XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

Article IV.

Of the Justification of Man.

It is further taught that *man cannot be righteous before God through his own powers, merits, or works. But he becomes righteous (justified) without all deserving for Christ's sake through faith,* when he believes himself received to grace and that his sins are forgiven for the sake of Christ's merits who has satisfied and paid for our sins through His death. This faith God *reckons* for righteousness in His sight, etc., as stands written in Romans, 3d and 4th chapters.

Article VII.

Of Good Works.

It is further taught, that *this faith should bear good fruit,* and that it is our duty to practise good works which are commanded of God, and that for the sake of God's will and commandment, and not that we should confide in obtaining righteousness before God by such works.

For that the forgiveness of sins and justification are received and grasped through faith, so witness our Lord's own words (St. Luke 17): "When ye have

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of Christ, and the Inspiration of His Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ; neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School-authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

Article XIV.
Of Work of Supererogation.

Voluntary works besides, over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety: for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for His sake than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

done all this, then say, We are unprofitable servants."

The Church's ancient teachers also instruct us in the same way. For Ambrose says: "This has been determined by God that they who believe in Christ should be saved without works through faith alone, receiving the forgiveness of sins without deserving."

Apology for the Augsburg Confession. Article II.

Page 62, Billing's Ed.

"That they (our scholastic adversaries) made a distinction between *meritum congrui* and *meritum condigni*, that is between a reasonable recompense and a full and entire desert, only makes them play with words, that they may not seem to be open Pelagians."

Page 64.

"Men certainly sin when they do beautiful and excellent deeds without the Holy Spirit."

Article III. P. 79.

"Our adversaries certainly do us injustice when they charge us that we teach nothing about good works or deeds, for we certainly not only require them but also show in what way they ought to be done."

Augsburg Confession.
Article XXVIII.
Title:
Seventh Misuse (in doctrine.)

" . . . that one can not only deserve the forgiveness of

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sins . . . but also deserve more, through fulfilling God's counsel and commandment and works of supererogation besides."

The Swedish as well as German Lutherans certainly suffered much from the preaching of an unfruitful orthodoxy all through the seventeenth century. Probably every Church on earth has been plagued by such teaching. It has been as soundly denounced by Swedish Bishops as by anyone else. And it is no part of the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession or of its apology. The above compared articles show agreement as perfect as possible between independent writers in different places and times. Hence there is no reasonable ground for the charge that the Swedish Church is in formal heresy on the subject of faith and good works, and justification.

(*d*) The Sacraments. This comparison is more difficult.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.
ARTICLE XXV.

Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will toward us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord . . .

CHURCH CATECHISM.

Ans. . . . And faith whereby

AUGSBURG CONFESSION.
ARTICLE XIII.

Of the Use and Benefit of the Sacraments.

Of the use and benefit of the sacraments it is taught, that the sacraments were founded not only that they might be distinguishing tokens through which the faithful could be outwardly known from other men, but that they should be tokens and witnesses of God's will toward us, and ordained to awaken and strengthen faith in them who use the sacraments. Therefore, the sacraments should so be used that there is always present the faith that believes the promises of God which are offered and set before us in the sacraments.

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they steadfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that sacrament.

Article XXVII.

Of Baptism.

Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it is also a sign of Regeneration or New Birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God.

The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

Catechism: "Generally Necessary to Salvation."

Article XXVIII.

Of the Lord's Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's death: insomuch

Apology for the Augsburg Confession. VII.

. . . Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and absolution, the sacrament of penance, are really sacments. . . .

Augsburg Confession.

Article IX.

Of Baptism.

Of Baptism it is taught, that it is necessary to salvation, and that God's grace is offered and given through baptism, and that young children should be baptized, who, dedicated to God in baptism, are received by Him to grace.

Here are condemned anabaptists who refuse infant baptism, and assert that children can be saved without baptism.

Article X.

Of the Lord's Supper.

Of the Lord's Supper it is taught that Christ's Body and Blood really are present and administered in the Lord's Supper to all them, who there eat and drink.

They therefore are to be disapproved and rejected who teach otherwise.

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that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.

CATECHISM.

"VERILY AND INDEED TAKEN AND RECEIVED BY THE FAITHFUL" (*Am. Vers.* "*Spiritually.*")

ARTICLE XXIX.

Of the Wicked, which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper.

The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as St. *Augustine* saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather, to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

THIRD MISUSE (ARTICLE XXIV.)

. . . . St. Paul severely threatens them who deal unworthily with the Lord's Supper, etc.

ARTICLE XXX.

Of Both Kinds.

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay-people: for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

FIRST MISUSE (ARTICLE XXII.).

That they have taken away one part of the Lord's Supper.

Both parts in the Lord's Supper were given to laymen, for this thing has the Lord's commandment, etc.

The teaching of both series of articles is practically alike as far as it goes, except that our Article XXIX. is a good deal misunderstood among Lutherans. We mean no more than

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we substantiate from St. Augustine, who is a great favorite among Swedish authors, and *not* that there is less *offered* to the wicked than to the worthy recipient. He who has no faith cannot receive justification though it be offered, nor can he spiritually feed on the Sacrament.

The protest against Roman abuses is practically the same in the Augsburg Confession as in our Articles. Witness the following:

ARTICLE XXXI.

Of the One Oblation of Christ Finished Upon the Cross.

The Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.

AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

THIRD MISUSE. ARTICLE XXIV.

That they have changed the Lord's Supper to the Sacrifice of the Mass and other dangerous Misuses.

. . . Christ's sacrifice was one offering and complete satisfaction not alone *for* original sin, but also for all other sins, . . .

Thereto came also the opinion which has so increased secret wrongful Masses that they become countless, that Christ with His passion satisfied and paid for original sin, and then ordained the Mass in which should occur offering for daily sins . . . . whereof has come the common opinion that the Mass is an action which does away with the sins of quick and dead, *ex opere operato*. . . . These opinions . . . are against holy Scripture. . . .

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XIII.—The Doctrinal Position of the Swedish Church. Concluded.

WE resume our comparison of the Augsburg Confession with the Thirty-nine Articles.

(*e*) The doctrine of the Church. Present differences are harder to reconcile than these formularies.

The Thirty-nine Articles.

Article XIX.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite for the same.

Article XXXIV.

It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one or utterly like.

The Augsburg Confession.

Article VII.

Of God's Church.

It is further taught that there is one holy Church, which also always shall remain. And God's Church is the Communion of Saints in which the gospel is purely preached and the Sacraments rightly used.

And to the true unity of the Church it is enough to be united in the pure teaching of the gospel and the use of the Sacraments; and it is not needful that there should everywhere be the same statutes, customs, or ceremonies ordained by men, as St. Paul says: "One faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all," etc.

Article V.

. . . The ministry (Lat. *ministerium*, Swedish, *predikoembetet*) was instituted through which the gospel is preached and the sacraments administered.

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ARTICLE XXVI

. . . . Sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the Word and Sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by His commission and authority, we may use their ministry. . . . Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinances taken away by their wickedness, etc.

ARTICLE VIII.

. . . The word and sacraments are effective for the sake of Christ's institution and commandment, although they be proclaimed or administered by unworthy persons.

ARTICLE XXIII.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. . . . .

ARTICLE XIV.

It is taught concerning the ministry that no one shall publicly preach or teach or administer the sacraments in God's Church unless he has been lawfully called thereto.

Care must be taken not to misunderstand slight differences in the use of the same technical terms. If Latin were exclusively employed by competent scholars in comparing doctrine, many small divergencies due to repeated translations, and translations of translations, would disappear.

(*f*) The appeal to Holy Scripture alone, and that as interpreted by themselves.

As a matter of fact the divines of the Augsburg Confession made a very strong appeal to the witness of the primitive Church. They disclaimed any intention to introduce a new religion or new customs. They were explicit about abuses, and these abuses were all regarded as such by our own reformers. The Augsburg Confession might indeed have produced different types of Churchmanship, a different emphasis from what it did. (The Thirty-nine Articles might easily have produced in appearance a different result or results.) But that the early Lutherans

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believed they were reproducing antiquity may be shown by some such quotations as the following:

"This is, as nearly as possible, the sum of the doctrine proclaimed among us, from which one may see that there is nothing in it which does not correspond with the Holy Scriptures and with the *Universal Christian Church,* even also with the Roman Church as she was known of the *ancient authors.* And since this is so, they judge in an unchristian way who require that we should be reckoned among heretics."—*Conclusion of the Augsburg Confession.*

It may be admitted in conclusion that the Swedish office for the Holy Communion leaves a sentiment of incompleteness in the minds of those accustomed to our service. Our writers are apt to say that the service contains no invocation, and that the simple recitation of the words of institution, not as a prayer, appears to be less than we might ask for. To which the Swedes would ask in return what invocation could be better than the Lord's Prayer, the words of institution defining the special intention of its use?

This question on their part we may well find it difficult to answer. Certainly the use of the Lord's Prayer for special intention is no invention of the Swedes. It has always been so used before and since the Reformation by people most anxious to be called Catholics.

There has also been some anxiety lest the Swedes should have sacrificed the idea of any *offering* connected with the Lord's supper, in getting rid of the extreme idea of eucharistic sacrifice against which they protested. And it cannot be denied that their writers say very little comparatively on this subject, which is also true of some of ours. Nevertheless, there may be found admissions that there is a sacrificial side to the Lord's supper. Such admissions may be found in many Swedish

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authors, such as the present Archbishop's book on the Christian Priesthood, in which he quotes Cyprian to the point with approval. But much more authoritative is the Apology for the Augsburg Confession, XII., under the title, *What the Fathers Thought About the Sacrifice.*

" . . . We know well that the fathers have called the mass a sacrifice, but it is not their meaning that the mass, by simply attending it, deserves God's grace, or on the other hand wins the forgiveness of sin, guilt, and punishment. Where does one read such offensive words with the fathers? They express openly that they speak only of a Eucharistic offering, and therefore they call it a thanksgiving offering. We have previously said (in a comment on Scripture doctrine) that a sacrifice of thanksgiving does not earn atonement, but that it occurs from them who already are reconciled." . . . .

Hence the Augsburg Confession has nothing against a Eucharistic sacrifice, but only against regarding it as a propitiatory sacrifice.

At the conclusion of one of Mr. Embry's paragraphs occurs also another stricture on one doctrine of the Swedish Church, that of Absolution. "Absolution is turned into a vague declaration."

As a matter of fact the Augsburg Confession is much stronger on absolution than our own formularies. We have nothing in the Thirty-nine Articles except the following:

Article XXXIII. That person . . . which is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a judge that hath authority thereunto.

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The Augsburg Confession, Article XII., is as follows:

Of Penance and Amendment.

Of Penance it is taught that they who are fallen into sin after baptism, can always obtain forgiveness of sins, whenever they repent and amend, and that God's Church shall pronounce absolution and the forgiveness of sins to such as do penance and amend. . . . .

And the eleventh Article, on Confession and Absolution, reads:

Of Confession it is taught that private confession should be retained in the Church, but so that it be not necessary that one reckon up all his sins, for that is really impossible, etc.

In Section VII. of the Apology for the Augsburg Confession they go beyond us somewhat in calling absolution or the sacrament of Penance the third of the great sacraments commanded by Christ, but their doctrine does not really differ from ours.

As a further matter of fact, finally, one of our Church clergy, and much more our Church laity, could read through many sermons regarded as standard in the Swedish Church, if accurately translated, without finding one word or expression to jar on his feelings or habits of thought, and without a suspicion that the author was other than a clergyman of our Church. He might, after a long time, find something he disapproved of, but probably no sooner than he might in one of our own authors.

Mr. Embry concludes his vigorous article with a statement and a prayer. The statement, which I shall examine, is by the late Canon Bright, and the prayer by Dr. Pusey. May I venture to criticise them both in passing, in view of the dawn of better days?

Dr. Bright's words quoted by Mr. Embry are: "I confess I do not look forward with any great hopefulness toward the

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Scandinavian communion." (I have noted that each of the three Scandinavian Churches is entirely independent, and has no responsibility to the other for its confession of faith, and that they differ radically. Hence merely in using the term "the Scandinavian communion," Dr. Bright was unscientific, and weakens his own great authority.) "It is essentially Lutheran, and I should gravely doubt whether a body pervaded and animated by Lutheran tradition could, as such, conform itself to the Churchly type." (I have further pointed out that no succinct definition of Lutheranism is possible: that Lutheran tradition is not uniform, and I should add that Dr. Bright's experience might easily be less with Lutherans than ours in this western land, where thousands of them have been incorporated, heart and soul, with our "Churchly" body without the least sentiment of violent disturbance of their ideals. Further, experience can contradict theory successfully always. The Swedish Church has approached us peacefully.) "I believe Luther cast off advisedly and thoroughly the whole sacerdotal conception of the ministry." (It makes no difference what Luther did as long as there is no evidence that the Swedish Church did so. I have searched for such evidence. I do not agree with those who think they have found it.) So far with the quotation from Dr. Bright. The brief remainder needs no answer.

Dr. Pusey's prayer was this:

"May God, who brought to naught the building of the tower of Babel, bring utterly to naught all attempts to connect us with the Scandinavian bodies, so long as they retain the faith destroying Confession of Augsburg."

I do not believe that Dr. Pusey had any reason to be proud of this prayer. The Swedish Church has maintained, ever since the beginnings of her reformation, her adherence to the

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three great creeds. The Augsburg Confession has not destroyed that. And the use of the term "the Holy Christian Church" in the creed, for a portion of this period, calls for much less comment than foreign critics would suppose. It refers back to the original language. But the Swedes have now returned to *"allmännelig,"* an exact translation of Catholic.

The reference to the Tower of Babel is also unfortunate. Those whose speech and language were there confounded were originally one, united against God. We, who desire to return nearer to Christ and each other, are divided in language, are praying for light, and are asking help from the Author of Peace and Lover of Concord to learn how to fulfil His mind. Let us therefore pray with the Master rather than His servant, "That they all may be One."

NOTE: When I admit that I have frequently translated the Swedish word *"församling"* by *Church,* instead of *congregation,* perhaps I may be charged with pressing my own views. But indeed the Swedes do not use their word *"Kyrka"* where we use "Church," with anything like the same regularity or emphasis. In the adjective form they use it, but not as the noun. And I have translated according to my convictions of the real meaning, and would have done so had it spoiled my case.

Illustrations may be useful. For instance *församling* in general would be *assembly* or *congregation,* but *Guds församling, den christelige församlingen,* or *haus församling, haus* referring back to *Gud,* would certainly be *God's Church, the Christian Church,* or *His Church.* My chief authority is Björkman's great dictionary, but I have enquired exhaustively of good scholars besides.

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XIV.—Practical Possibilities Toward Closer Relations With the Swedish Church.

THE precedents for dealing with clergymen in Swedish orders in this country are various and somewhat conflicting. The first series of precedents runs from 1638 down to nearly two hundred years afterwards, at the death of the Rev. N. Collin in Philadelphia. During the colonial period the Swedish clergy officiated under stipends from the S. P. G. for English congregations, whenever any emergency requiring their services arose. Their services were thus rendered under arrangement with the commissary of the Bishop of London, and a good deal of correspondence is extant on the subject. But of any direct license issued to them by the Bishop of London I have not been able to secure an example. There were friendly letters and commendations enough from London to prove that the Swedish Orders were, on the whole, highly respected and their validity allowed to pass without question. That there was any profound investigation of the subject may well be doubted. But there is no documentary trace of any doubt existing among the colonial clergy about the propriety of fellowship and interchange with the representatives of the Swedish Church. If one or more of these were not episcopally ordained, as seems probable, knowledge or scruple about it, if any, was insufficient to break the general cordiality. It is just as clear that the Swedes were in close fellowship with the German Lutherans, whose relation at that time was more friendly to us than has since been the case.

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It has sometimes been said that Dr. N. Collin, the last of the Swedish clergy of the original sending, sat as a member of the convention of the diocese of Pennsylvania. Bishop Thomas F. Davies, who was conversant with the facts, told me that this was not the case. Dr. Collin, all of whose assistant clergy were clergymen in our orders, attended the convention as an honored guest. But he could not be a real member of convention, unless he became by transfer or otherwise a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is no disparagement to his orders that he did not become a member of convention. An English priest officiating simply under license would have no membership.

About 1861 Jacob Bredberg was received on his Swedish Orders by Bishop Whitehouse, and became rector of St. Ansgarius', Chicago, and a member of the diocesan convention of Illinois.

Other Swedish clergy have officiated under license without seeking or obtaining membership in the Convention. The most notable case is that of Professor Mellin of the General Theological Seminary.

In 1893, when we had the canon allowing immediate ordination of applicants from other bodies who were university graduates and thirty-five years of age, a case came up in the Missionary District of Northern Michigan. The Swedish pastor at Ironwood applied to be received. Bishop Davies was then the provisional Bishop, but Bishop Kendrick was by arrangement performing a visitation. It was decided that the clergyman should be ordained in our Church under the "immediate" canon, as it involved him in so little delay. But as both Bishops concerned felt that much could be said for Swedish Orders, the ordination was made as near a conditional one as our use allows, *i.e.*, a declaration was made the candidate that what

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was done, was done "saving his rights as a Swedish priest." I was then Archdeacon of Northern Michigan and president of the Standing Committee.

The matter of these orders had been before the Lambeth Conference of 1888, and bitter attacks were made upon their validity that year in the English Church press. These attacks were answered, successfully, in my judgment, by Dr. A. Nicholson in both the *Guardian* and the *Church Times*. But little had been written or read on the subject in this country, and my acquaintance with it had hardly begun. The clergyman referred to remained with us less than a year and was then deposed. His sudden ordination had been a mistake and his deposition was also a mistake, but under our canons there seemed nothing else to do. He was of a quiet, studious disposition and acquiesced in everything without much protest. Had he undertaken, himself, to argue the case of his orders, it is hard to say what might have been done; but while he plainly believed in them, he accepted easily the Bishop's decision to ordain.

If Bredberg's case is no real precedent, this can hardly be pressed too far, as all through the proceedings the justification of the action taken was that we were simply not well enough informed of the historic facts to do otherwise.

What would we be justified in doing now? The objections to Swedish Orders are mainly urged from the High Church side, and writers like Pusey, Bright, Percival, and Hall have felt those orders to be unsatisfactorily made out. It is, however, difficult not to feel that a definite pronouncement against them, if made, would have to be based on principles not fully recognized by the Church as such, but accepted only by one party, now grown stronger than perhaps ever before.

A decision, for or against, in so many words would un-

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doubtedly trouble a great many of our membership. A failure to decide at all would on the other hand look like a great weakness rooted somewhere in our system, and I am free to say would be quite as unsettling as the decision.

But is there no present provision for action apart from any new legislation or determination, at least as far as the American Church is concerned? And supposing an affirmative decision to be made by us, or by the Lambeth Conference, would it be at all desirable under such a decision that any considerable number of Swedish priests should be incorporated, by transfer and acceptance, as priests of this Church? If they became priests of this Church they would enter our diocesan synods on even terms with others and share in our legislation, but they would also be subject to all our canons. Now, to go on with the latter question first, our canons represent our best practical wisdom worked out under all our racial, social, and historical limitations. But it would be a wild statement to say that under them we are fitted to grapple with new questions, all temperaments, all racial traditions. As a Church, we have not the gift of tongues. As descendants of English stock we have no great adaptability to other traditions. To be Anglo-Saxon is next to being kin to the old gods. We have perhaps partly, but certainly never fully, escaped the limitations of the English, which have indeed materially assisted in England's greatness, but have certainly made her greatness that of a peculiar people. To bring into our ranks any considerable number of Swedish or German clergy, though in valid orders, would involve them and us in unfamiliar working conditions and unfruitful results. One by one, such persons could be brought in, if they could endure to be lonely. But if fellowship with their own sort could be obtained, in our communion, but under rules and customs familiar to them, that would promise better results.

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If the whole large Swedish work in Northern Michigan were to be turned over to me tomorrow and were to become instantly an integral part of my diocese, the only possible way I could do anything with it would be to organize it into a separate synod, and so divide my time that I should go from Swedish church to Swedish church, day in and day out, without intermixture of any English work, for half the year. Then I could deal with them in their own spirit as one of themselves. The two works could not be combined, theirs being as great or greater than ours, in any synodical unity, though to combine them under one Bishop would require no more of a miracle than the adapting of one person to two forms of work. This would not be impossible. But synodical unity, even with a common faith, would be wrecked on temperamental and traditional differences, until long years of fellowship through the Bishop, and increasing contact, had made the other possible.

It will be remembered that this Church is not on record specifically on the orders of any other Episcopal Church, but that it is on record that there are such Churches. All persons not ordained by a Bishop of our communion, but claiming episcopal orders, have to substantiate their claim of orders to no one but the Bishop of the diocese to whom they apply. He is the sole judge of their orders, under our canon. I take it that he always has been, in most cases, everywhere, except under the Roman obedience. Hence, although Bishop Whitehouse has been criticised for his action in Bredberg's case, he had to act in some way under the emergency. If he was personally satisfied as to Bredberg's orders I think under the circumstances he had to accept him. I suppose many Bishops have been imposed upon in time past, but the Church was not compromised by their action, as the men they received were not received as unordained men, but as men who were believed to have proved their episcopal orders.

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There is room for a great expansion of the usefulness of our episcopate under Canons 18 and 42.

It is fairly questionable, however, in view of our personal limitations as Bishops, whether our own episcopate could care for any considerable number of clergy or communicants of any other race, unless most closely related to our own, with the practical success that could follow an episcopate of their own.

At present it is like a deadly wound in a Bishop's heart that he is cut off from ministering to thousands of Christians in his own diocese for whom the theory of a diocesan episcopate makes him responsible. However much of the truth a non-episcopal body holds, I cannot possibly feel the same rest and release in their ministrations as I should if I felt there was great probability that they held the full Apostolic commission. And I should not feel justified in allowing any rigid theory of the jurisdiction of a diocesan Bishop to make me prefer to see usefulness limited for the sake of mere regularity. If therefore, in the wisdom of the Swedish Church they should feel constrained to add their episcopate to what their children have erected in America, I should, personally, welcome such an act with great joy. It could not possibly be an unfriendly act. Such friends as we have made could not do an unfriendly thing. And it would bring into this land another ancient episcopate with which we could confer face to face for closer unity, and lift at once from our hearts that burden of work undone which now distresses us. Conference across seas may well be some day fruitful, but the home conferences of close friends would be better.

If the American Lutherans of Swedish descent had their mother's episcopate, it is worth while to observe that they have already approached in their alternative forms of service nearer to us than their mother Church now stands in these important

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points. They have rubrically provided for confirmation by the laying-on of hands. They have also adopted prayers in the order for the Holy Communion which entirely remove the cause for the criticism which some of our men have thought justified by the very elementary use of the Words of Institution in the old Swedish form. In licensing the Swedish service for use in Michigan, Bishop Davies required the Invocation to be added from our form. He certainly would have required nothing of the kind if the form licensed for alternative use by the Augustana Synod had been proposed.

I see very little future for Swedish and German congregations of our communion in this country unless, as a preliminary to racial Bishops, some one or more Bishops we now have can be induced to specialize, not sporadically but almost exclusively. There is at present quite enough for one such Bishop to do. There would soon be more. But I am convinced it could hardly be the same in future and final results as if we had the Swedish national episcopate in our midst. For I question very much if even those who are doubtful of the propriety of our affirmation of Swedish orders would not feel a great sentiment of relief and satisfaction that the Swedes were as they were, could they have that episcopate here. Experiment with your own mind as to the propriety of sending an Anglican Bishop to Sweden except as an ambassador and interpreter, and you will see at once that you would consider it improper. The most extreme critic of their position could hardly go so far as that.

But, after all is said, the responsibility for deciding upon the valid orders of every applicant for reception or license among us is now left to the Bishop, and the Bishop may receive congregations of Christians entire, not heretofore of our communion. Though the provisions of the canons are easily accessible it may be well to have them in this connection.

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CANON 18.

"§1. When a minister ordained by a Bishop not in communion with this Church shall apply to a Bishop for admission into the same as a minister thereof, he shall produce to the Bishop satisfactory evidence . . . . that his letters of holy orders and other credentials are valid and authentic," etc.

The consent of the Standing Committee is required, naturally, before he can be received as a *minister of this Church*. But as Canon 42 says that "in any congregation, worshipping in other than the English language, which has placed itself under the oversight of a Bishop of this Church, it shall be lawful to use a form of service," etc., I suppose that for such a preliminary reception the consent of the Standing Committee need not be obtained, until full rights as a priest *of this Church* were asked for.

I may add that I am not seeking to justify anything I have done, for I have done nothing but study and write; nor to dispose in advance of any impending case, for none is impending; but merely to show what is possible under the canons as they now stand, and also to state that I believe a Swedish episcopate in this country would help the cause of Church unity. And though I have not mentioned it, quoting only those sentences of the canons referred to which bear on my point, I concede all that may be urged about personal fitness, and assurance of personal orthodoxy and obedience, before any proceedings could be proper, in the licensing of Swedish clergymen. These are not times when carelessness can be tolerated.

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POSTSCRIPT.

Installation Services in the Swedish Church.

THE concluding pages in Dean Baelter's book on Church ceremonies from p. 681 (Ed. 1838) are taken up with a description of these services. He believes historically that prior to Leo the Great priests were installed when they were ordained, but subsequently, after ordinations began to be performed at stated times at the see city, regular installation, in the particular cures provided, began to be arranged.

In Sweden, after the Reformation, installation was at first very simple. It was done by episcopal letters to the provost or dean, or any neighboring clergyman, who officiated for the Bishop, and addressed both the congregation and the new pastor on their respective duties.

The ceremony developed by degrees. A very full form appears in the handwriting of Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus Gothus, and another manuscript of the same import has been found in a handbook of the issue of 1614 in Wisslanda church in the diocese of Wexiö. It begins with a long and carefully grounded address to both the new pastor and the people, then follows prayer and a special sentence of installation ending with the hymn "Now pray we the Holy Ghost," and the Benediction.

It does not especially suggest an ordination.

Another form used in 1665 at the installation of Nicolaus Ringius as pastor in Wisslanda, is extant as he gave it. At

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the installation Magister Jona Zephryinus, pastor at Wexiö, who was the installing officer, delivered to the rector-elect, with suitable comments, the keys of the church, the Handbook, the chalice and paten, the Psalm-book, and the Bible, and required mutual promises. In the Church Law of 1686 a general method was prescribed. It required: (1) One or two weeks' public notice, in church, of the coming ceremony. (2) It was to be performed by the Bishop or his delegate, with two or three of the neighboring clergy. (3) The form included an address to the new rector and people, suitable scriptures, the reading of the (*fullmakt*) commission, the recitation of the oath, Our Father, and another prayer, a hymn, and benediction. No laying on of hands was prescribed, but it was sometimes used, and the ceremony thus indicated grew to resemble an ordination. This installation was repeated every time a priest became incumbent of a new parish. Baelter expressly says that it was not ordination, which was a once for all ceremony, but says some people called it "the second ordination." It was not prescribed for chaplains and comministers, but Baelter thought it edifying and useful to follow the same custom with them. However, he explains that one could enter upon the duties of a parish without it.

The new Chapter 15 of the Handbook appears for the first time in the Report of 1799, and was adopted in 1809. It assimilated the installation ceremonies very closely to an ordination. The service adopted, however, changed the words properly connected with the installation from those proposed in the Report. In the Report the sentence would have been exactly the same as in an ordination, only changing *predikoembet* to *kyrkoherdeembet*. Both used the form, "according to the authority which is committed to me, on God's behalf, by His Church." But as adopted it read, "According to the duty which rests upon me,

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I deliver to thee herewith the King's (or Consistory's) commission, and also the office of rector (or pastor) in NN congregation."

In the form published in 1881, the words of installation are, "According to the authority which is committed to me," and provision is made for the mention of the names of more congregations than one, if the installation is to a combined cure.

No change in the sentence was made in 1894, but in 1881 there were several scriptures provided for the ordination form, not in the installation ceremony. The laying on of hands began to be prescribed in 1809, having been rubrically suggested in 1799.

In the preliminary rubric, which continues practically as suggested in 1799, there is a phrase which would be very annoying without a little history back of it. Baelter, while expressly denying to installation, as practised in his time, the character of ordination, admits that some called it "the second ordination," this, of course, without authority. But this rubric, after calling the candidate *introducendus,* goes on to describe the act as the *invigning,* the word ordinarily used for ordination. But *invigning* is used also historically to describe the installation of an abbot under the old regime, which, of course, was not an ordination proper. And the secondary dictionary meaning of *invigning* is *inauguration,* and by consequence, installation in its proper sense.

When *ordinandus* comes to be made priest he wears a surplice. When *introducendus* comes to be installed he wears his chasuble, which he had received as part of the ceremonies of ordination.

The prayers and addresses which have been, in different editions, used following the Lord's Prayer in the installation ceremonies have somewhat further differentiated the rite from

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an ordination. The emphasis is laid on "cure of souls." The new pastor is called a "curate of souls."

With regard to the remarkable likeness between the titles of Chapters 13 and 15, "How a Bishop shall be Installed in His Office," and "How a Rector shall be Installed in His Parish," reference is made to Baelter's historical statement that prior to Leo the Great persons were ordained in the place where they were to serve, and installed by the same act. A Bishop is now ordained in his own Cathedral and installed by the same act. But the service in Chapter 13 for a Bishop's ordination and installation is never repeated on his transfer, which differentiates this office completely from the service in Chapter 15, which always is repeated when a rector is transferred.

However much the forms themselves have troubled some anxious students, the Swedes themselves are perfectly clear that ordination is not to be repeated.

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